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**SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHAKMA SOCIETY  
IN THE CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS  
OF BANGLADESH**

**A THESIS  
SUBMITTED TO THE  
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IN SOCIOLOGY**

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**FEBRUARY 1986**

C E R T I F I C A T E

Certified that the work incorporated in this Thesis entitled, "Social Change in Chakma Society in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh", submitted by Sudhin Kumar Chakma was carried out by the candidate under my supervision. Such material as has been obtained from other sources has been duly acknowledged.

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## D E C L A R A T I O N

I hereby declare that the work reported  
in this thesis is original and has not been submitted  
by me to any University or Institution for the award  
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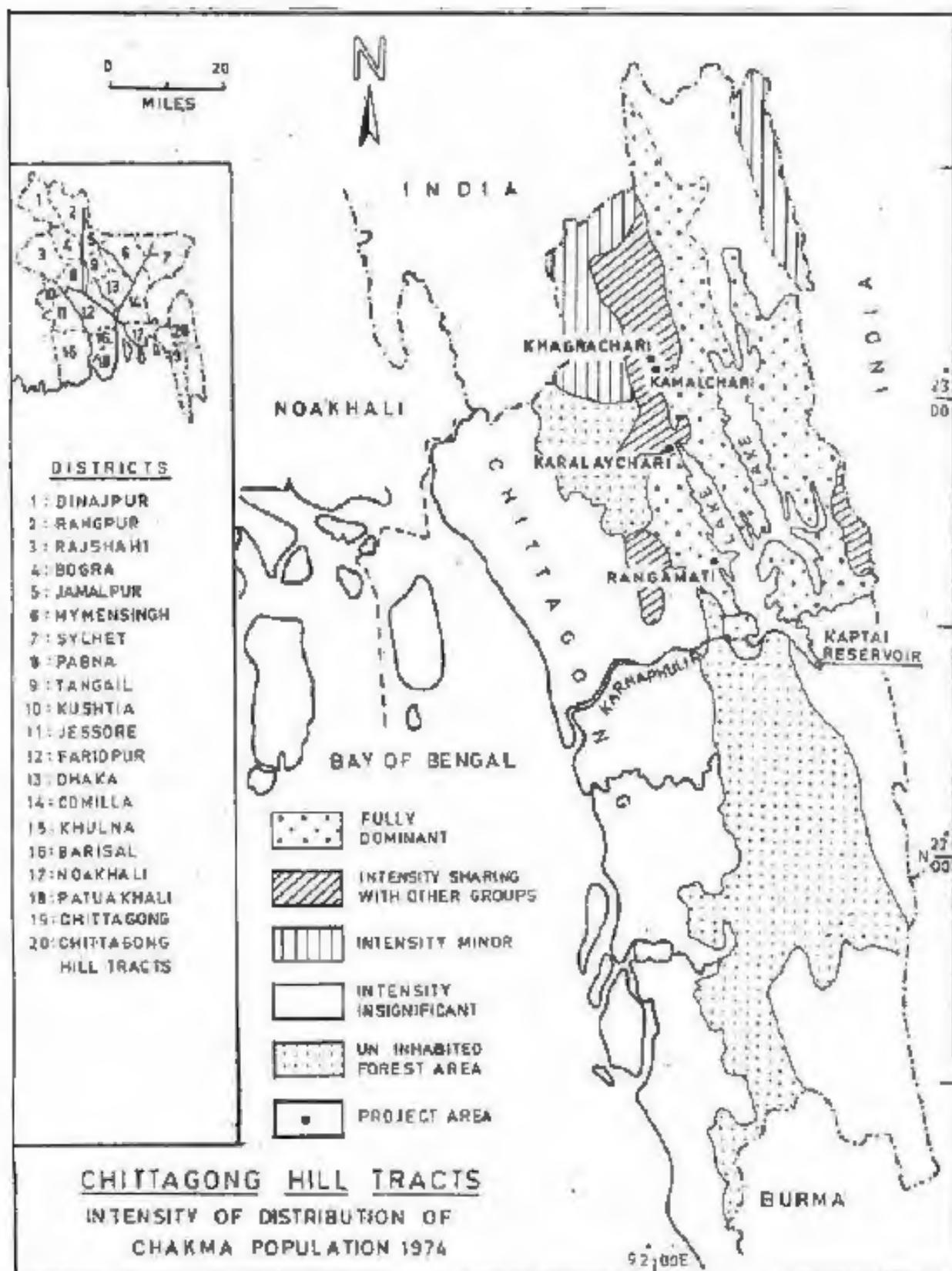
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# Chapter I

## Introduction

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## CHAPTER I

### INTRODUCTION

Review of earlier studies

Lack of studies of change among Chakmas

Aim of the study

Hypothesis

Theoretical Concepts :

Meaning of social change

Social Progress

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

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Bangladesh emerged as a sovereign state on December 16, 1971 by seceding from the uncontiguous Union of Pakistan. Like other under-developed countries, Bangladesh is trying to withstand the impact of its various post liberation problems. It is now committed to development in all dimensions - social, political and economic.

The country is flat with the exception of the Chittagong Hill Tracts which covers contrasting terrains of high land ranges, forest bush and creeper jungles. The scenic splendour of these topographies are attractive no doubt, but the life style of the tribal people, who reside in these serene places are singularly enchanting.

Bangladesh is an overpopulated country with nearly 90 million population of which the tribals number approximately a million. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts alone their number can be placed at about five lakhs and the most notable are Chakma, Marma, Tripura, Mru, Murang, Lushai, Tanchangya, Kuki, Shendus, Bom, Sak, Bonjugi and Pankho. With less than one per cent of the population of Bangladesh, the district contains a traditional society with divergent religions, languages, ethnic characteristics and primordial sentiments.

The present study concerns with the social life of Chakma people who are a major group in the district. It is hoped that the generalisations that apply to the Chakmas may be useful in the case of other tribals, since they live under the same conditions and are subjected to similar modifications in their social life. The Chakmas are not too satisfied with the conditions they have to face at present. They desire a change which would modernise their society.

The desire for modernisation among the Chakma society is not of recent origin but acceleration of modernisation in recent years is evident due to the urban industrial revolution operating in the district.

The following perspectives are utilised to enable us to understand the trend of change among the Chakmas.

Firstly, according to Rehman, "the history of the region shows constant warfare between the rulers of Bengal, Arakan and Tripura for occupation and territorial control and it changed hands far too often until the Mughal conquest in 1666 and subsequent transfer of the area to the East India Company in 1760". (Rehman, 1982 : 15). Since then the Chittagong Hill Tracts as a part of India have been subjugated by colonial power. With all the bad effects of colonization one can not deny the fact that the colonies also derived some benefits due to their long association with the western powers who were superior technologically as well as economically. Thus, colonisation has some significance for understanding the process of change and modernisation.

A change began to occur in the traditional life of a few Chakma people who came in close contact with the west and with the majority Hindu population. As a result a new social class emerged in the society which adopted Bengali Hindu culture. These people began to change their way of life and felt superior by talking in Bengali at home instead of their own tribal language.

Secondly, when Pakistan achieved independence from the British colonial rule in 1947, it was disorganised and lacked an institutionalised political process. Though its leaders tried to bring forth modernisation and developmental changes, it so happened that ultimately a great disparity was created between the two wings (West and East) which were separated by about thousands of miles with India in between. The disparity between the two wings created dissatisfaction and discontent among various socio-political groups in the Eastern wing. The Pakistan Government wanted to impose Urdu as a national language ignoring Bengali, a language of majority of people in East Pakistan. The disparity in per capita income in civil as well as defence employment and in allocation of developmental funds and foreign aid were other reasons for discontent. All these factors created a set of political and economic dilemmas that remained unresolved until Bangladesh successfully seceded from Pakistan.

The tribal people particularly the Chakmas could not remain insulated from the happenings in the country. These had a direct and indirect influence on their society. Moreover the modern process of change among the Chakmas started soon after completion of Kaptai Hydro-electric dam in 1962 resulting in increased

means of communication, administration and commencing of community development projects. In fact the dam displaced about 1,00,000 people and compelled them to settle in the upper reaches of Chengi, Mayani and Kassalong Valleys of non-submerged areas which caused tremendous new population pressures on the hilly and alluvial lands. The waters of the reservoir had devoured the lands of the people for which they have not been adequately compensated. Thus, a feeling seems to be common among the tribes that the centre does not do enough justice for them and that "the resources of the district are used for the benefit of other areas." (ADB Min Report, 1978 : 43).

Thirdly, the growing 'intrusion' of Bengalis from the plains ever since 1930 and later in 1964 when the Hill Tracts were officially thrown open to all, and greater numbers of Bengalis migrated to these regions after the emergence of Bangladesh has increasingly created dissatisfaction among the tribals who consider themselves as the only "sons of the soil" and who feel entitled to all benefits from it (ADB Report, XIII). The tribes started protesting. The educated youngmen are forming various societies to ventilate their grievances and to promote the transition of the tribal society from traditionalism to modern life.



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However, the Government of Bangladesh have undertaken several developmental programmes for the upliftment of the tribal people and in response to it many Chakmas as well as other tribes have joined the governmental activities. Some of them have been found engaged in non-farm activities like business, trade professions etc. though major trade and business in the district are in the hands of the outsiders. Besides, a great number of educated Chakma people work for the government, some are in teaching profession, while others are engaged as contractors.

Owing to the changed nature and venue of work there is remarkable change in their outlook - in their world view, values, attitudes, and above all in the very philosophy of their life. A new model of modernisation and mechanisation has emerged before them and it seems as if, the very ethos of traditional culture marked with homogeneity, simplicity, co-operation, leisured life have been abruptly shaken. The factors of changes that are taking place in the Chakma society will be dealt with in the succeeding chapters of this work.

#### Review of earlier studies

The earliest noted study by Captain T.H. Lewin (1869) entitled, 'The Hill Tracts of Chittagong and

the Dwellers Therein' is perhaps one of the first available book in English about this region. In his book, Lewin provided valuable information regarding the life style of the tribal people and threw light on many interesting aspects which were useful to educationists, administrators and scholars for further research. The origin, customs and traditions of Chakma, Magh, Murang, Tipra and Xuki were discussed in Risley's work (1891 : Vol. I), 'The Tribes and Castes of Bengal'. R.H. Hutchinson (1909-1914, Vol.2) wrote the official District Gazetteer of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. He furnished various aspects of the way of life of the tribal people. Shree Satish Chandra Ghose (1919) in his "Chakma Jati" described the socio-cultural customs and traditions of Chakmas. He termed the Chakmas as a nation instead of calling them as a tribe. P.C. Basu (1931) wrote an article entitled, 'The Social and Religious Ceremonies of the Chakmas' in Asiatic Society of Bengal. In his article Basu narrated the life pattern and way of life of the Chakmas. He gave greater emphasis on their occupation, social organisation, religion and customs besides food and drinking habits. Lucien Bernot and his wife Denise Bernot (1957), a French couple visited the Chittagong Hill Tracts for the purpose of research work

on the Hill Tribes and wrote some articles on 'Chittagong Hill Tribes'. These articles are concise and clearly stated about the tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The reader finds a sharp characterisation of the economic and social life of the people with a description of administrative set up and a sketch of the origin and distribution of the various tribes in the area. It also throws some light on the process of change now at work among the tribesmen. Pierre Bessaignet was very much impressed by the writings and opined that "if any programme of research in the Hill Tracts is to develop in future, it will only be as a result of the work of Mr. and Mrs. Bernot." (Bessaignet, 1964:347).

Professor Pierre Bessaignet (1958) wrote a monograph on 'Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts', which was published by the Asiatic Society of Pakistan publications No. 1. In his writings there is a wealth of information (given in the three Appendices) dealing with the economic life, social organisation and customs and besides, a description of the tribes in the words of Chakma Rajas. The author also discussed the general aspects, regarding the tribes - their habitat, population economic life, social pattern and compared their economy with the economy of the rest of Bangladesh in so far as it is related to the collection of revenue and general

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administration. He narrated the changes of administrative pattern of Bengal in different periods and their influences in the life of tribal people. Though his writings were before completion of the dam he could visualize that the people would be facing the problem of modern industrialised set up at Kaptai in their very homes. All the questions raised by the author have been left to be answered by the future Anthropologists and Sociologists.

Biraj Mohan Dewan (Chakma) (1969) in his book, "Chakma Jaatik Itibritta", discussed chronologically the origin of the Chakmas and Chakma Raj family. He also discussed the life style of the Chakmas.

Abdus Satter (1975) in his book, "Aaranya Japade" discussed the way of life of different tribes of Bangladesh.

Recently, Bangladesh Government published District Gazetteers of Chittagong Hill Tracts (1975), edited by Mohammad Ishaq. Here every aspect of the life of the Chakmas as well as other tribes have been dealt with ethnographically.

Two Journals were started from the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Of them, 'Gairika' (1936) was published

both in English and Bengali from the Chakma Rajbari. The journal edited by Rani Benita Roy and Prabhat Kumar Dewan discussed many aspects of tribal culture, arts and languages. Another Journal named, 'Rangamati' (1964) was published by district council. Though it was intended to be a quarterly magazine there were no subsequent issues. A Journal entitled 'Parbatya Banee' edited by Mr. Biraj Mohan Dewan was published in 1970. Another Journal named, 'Jharna' edited by Mr. Suniti Bikash Chakma was published from Bandarban. Both Journals are now out of publication.

The following Journals are now in production:

- 1) A weekly named 'Banobhumi' published and edited by Mr. Moqsur Ahmed, Rangamati Prakashani, Rangamati.
- 2) A Journal entitled, 'Girinirjhar' published by the Tribal Cultural Institute, Rangamati Chittagong Hill Tracts.

#### Lack of Studies of Change Among Chakmas

The Chittagong Hill Tracts, a remote district of Bangladesh has not received as much attention from scholars as it deserves. It was only after taking over the reign of supremacy of this area by the British in 1760, the then administrative officials curiously undertook

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the task of writing the nature and ways of life of the people living in this region for many centuries. Subsequently some ethnographers educationalists began their studies in different periods about different tribes. These works were published in the census reports, monographs, different journals and Gazetters. But all these works were substantiated as mere Chronicles of events and did not give adequate importance to the socio-cultural aspects of change among tribals. Most of these authors dealt with ethnographical aspects only. They overlooked the aspect of change of the life style of the tribal people which has occurred due to the impact of industrial and technological developments in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Moreover, they had language barriers and other communication problems; hence they had to substantiate their views on the basis of the secondary sources. With a view to understand the change of life style of the people in this area, a comprehensive sociological study was initiated.

No Sociologist has studied the aspects of change of the socio-economic conditions of the Chakmas after the completion of the dam. It is an undeniable fact that the life pattern of the Chakma people changed dramatically with the construction of the dam. The direct and indirect impacts have been virtually felt



all over the Hill Tracts were not critically studied by any Sociologists.

#### Aim of the Study

The present study deals with the social life of Chakma people who form 35 per cent of the total population of this district. It tries to explain the nature of change of these people from the period of colonial rule upto modern age. It also examines the impact of the Karnafuli Hydro-electric project on the social and economic conditions of the Chakmas. This sort of sociological approach is the first of its kind and no one had attempted to examine how industrialization in a tribal belt transforms the way of life of a tribal group and also how the group basically oriented towards a pre-industrial tribal form of society adapts itself to the industrial complexities.

While undertaking this study it was aimed to carefully examine the problems of displacement of tribals from their hearth and home, due to the construction of the dam. Although the displacement of inhabitants is of a general nature and did not aim at willful discrimination, the worst hit persons were the tribals mostly Chakmas who owned fertile cultivable lands which are under water. They lived in the backward

areas where this dam was constructed due to available natural resources. It is a general phenomenon that irrigation dams, mining and refineries are not located near the big cities of developed areas but are located in remote and interior areas. These remote and interior areas have population of the most backward sections of the society. These socially depressed classes of society are economically backward also.

The Kaptai dam constructed in Chittagong Hill Tracts forced the families to migrate with inadequate compensation. How far the rehabilitation programmes have changed the ways of life of the Chakmas have been carefully discussed in this study. It is argued by some writers that in traditional areas any new investment policies must be taken with caution keeping in view the prospective purpose it would serve the entire nation as well as the region. If the dysfunctional effects of the investment in the area outweigh the interest it serves the region, then the investment would give adverse effects. As Myron Weiner writes, "Once the state takes on new investment responsibilities whether for roads and post offices or for steel mills and power dams, questions of equity are posed by the regions, tribes linguistic groups which make up plural societies." (Welch, 1967 : 150). Thus the main purpose of this study is to examine the effects of the

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dam on the Chakmas of the region who were displaced and compare the changes that normally occurred to the people who were not effected by the dam.

The study will, no doubt, be a definite contribution to sociological research in the Hill Tracts and as a consequence, should be regarded as an instrument towards further research in the area. Thus, any research work of this type will surely provide us with new information about the life of the people living in this area. It assumes that these kinds of efforts are always intended for the progress of the tribal culture.

The study will provide us with an overwhelming influence on the changes that are coming to the tribes. It will help us to understand how the people of this area are making efforts to bring about the desired change which is already giving benefits to them.

#### Hypothesis

The study analysed the direction and rate of change on the basis of 'cause and effect' and may enable to distinguish the traditional traits from the assimilated culture which may come up due to the intruding influence of industrial complex on the life of the Chakmas. The study may give some important

glimpses about the social and economic influence which the construction of the dam had brought on the life of the Chakmas in one way or the other. In view of all this, the study was initiated with the following objectives :

- (1) To study the influence of the dam on the economic activities of the Chakmas with particular reference to occupational structure and employment, agriculture, animal husbandry and other sources of income, consumption and expenditure pattern and such other economic activities of the Chakmas. The construction of the dam forced Chakmas to migrate to other areas - this displacement brought about changes in their life styles, while the non-displaced persons because of the fruits of the dam also changed. A comparison between the changes of the migrant and non-migrant Chakmas is the crux of the study. This aspect of the study is unique since no social scientist has so far attempted such a study.
- (2) To study the changes taking place in the socio-cultural aspects of the Chakmas.
- (3) To assess the social and economic opportunities availed to the people in the area because of urbanisation of the region.

- (4) To study the arising problems and the factors conditioning the participation of the Chakmas in different governmental developmental activities.
- (5) To study the social interaction of the Chakmas with the non-locals as well as other tribes.
- (6) To make suggestions to improve the lot of the Chakmas and other tribes equipping them to participate in the area of nationally anticipated development programmes.

#### Theoretical Concepts :

##### Meaning of Social Change

No society is completely static. Even the most stable of societies show a tendency to change. Various factors come into play for bringing social change. Societies are not in total isolation, but in varying degrees of contact with other societies, there is a certain degree of culture - 'give and take'. Besides, several other factors can be traced to account for a change which cannot be dissociated and hence most theories which dealt with society have also had to touch upon the problem of social change. A great deal has been written on social change and it is difficult to discuss all of it. As Subhasini said,

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"A point to be noted initially is that most of these have not drawn a sharp distinction between social and cultural change when describing the theories of social change, either from the current norms of sociological theory or traditional norms." (Subhasini, 1975 : 16).

Studies on social change in the non-literate societies have been confined to pointing out the modification in the social life. Anthropologists had introduced such terms as "culture contact" and "acculturation" to express the way in which new patterns of behaviour or types of relationship were acquired and incorporated into a primitive social system. Sociologists generally used the word 'social change' to alteration in the non-material culture, i.e., values, mores and social institutions which lead to technological and other innovations. These alterations are found in the economic, social and political fields of activities of the people.

For a better understanding of the process of social change we may consider some of the definitions of social change. Generally by social change we mean some alteration in a social system. It refers to the intelligible process in which we can discover significant alteration in the structure and functioning of determinate social systems. Ernest Nagel defined social system as,

"to change its structural form also in the relative sense of an alteration in some particular kinds of social relationship (Nagel, 1961 : 529). According to Moore, "social change is the significant alteration of social structures (that is, of patterns of action, social and interaction), including consequences and manifestation of such structures embodied in norms (rules of conduct) values, cultural products and symbols." (Moore, 1965 : 366). In this point of view any alteration to be socially significant has to be accepted by the majority of the people and has to be assimilated or integrated in the society. Ogburn includes both material and non-material changes under social change. According to Panchanadikar, "The analysis of social change implies consideration of a given social system (cultural context and interaction process) that is being subjected to stresses generated either internally within the system or imposing on it from an external culture." (Panchanadikar, 1965 : 9).

By social change Morris Ginsberg means, "a change in social structure, e.g., the size of a society the composition or balance of its parts or the type of its organisation . . . The term social change must also include changes in attitudes or beliefs, in so far as they sustain institutions and changes with them."



By structural change he means changes in the parts of a structure due to changes in other parts or to a change in the balance of forces. (Morris Ginsberg : 224).

There have been many theories which have tried to explain social change. Miller lists the following : Theory of Economic Materialism (Marx), Economic Theory of Socialisation (Veblen), Division of Labour Theory (Durkheim), Socio-cultural Theory of Social Change (Taylor, Sumner and Ogburn), Social Differentiation Theory (Macever and Page) 1957 : 77). In spite of this Miller concludes that "there is an increasing recognition that a general theory of the process of change of social system is not possible in the present state of knowledge." (Miller, 1957 : 102). Many Sociologists have attempted to know the nature, cause, rate and direction of social change which have resulted into various theories. Some of these theories are Evolutionary Theories (Compe, Spencer, Darwin, Marx). Cyclical Theories (Spengler), Collective Reincarnation (Sorokin), Particularistic Theories i.e., Diffusionism (Smith, Geographic Determinism (Huntington), Biological Determinism (Hooton), Technological Determinism (Weber), etc. Sociological Theories i.e., Assimilation (Thomas), Social Ecology (Park and Burgess), Social Lag (Ogburn) Multiple Causation Theory (Ginsberg), Multiple Factor

Theory (Reader) and so on. Each of these theories throws light on the different aspects of social change. Comte and Durkheim are often said to favour a naturalistic approach. The dynamic agencies to which Comte refers in his analysis of social development are the instinctive and emotional drive and further more, his fundamental laws of social change are laws of mental evolution.

Spencer is often included among the determinants. He explains that his theory that institutions evolve in conformity with general laws also imply that the human will is an important factor in social evolution. The institution of a people and the character of its members act and react on each other. A change in the character of the members will tend to be reflected in a change in the institutions and conversely, a change in the institution will also affect the character of the members. Since changes in the character of individual can only affect institutions in so far as they are expressed in action it follows that the voluntary act of individuals are an important factor in bringing about changes in the structure of societies. (Ginsberg, 1952 : 207).

Nordskog (1960; 31-36) describes certain social processes which are accountable for social change.

At first, there is a process by which an organism becomes adapted to a new climate which he refers to acclimatization. Then there is the accommodation process, which involves a functional change in the habits and customs of persons and groups and by this, old habits are given up and new habits formed. Social change also involves a process of organisation i.e., the gradual development of an integrated scheme of structures and functions suited to a rather definite mode of life under specific conditions. This is called adaptation. People of diverse racial origins and different cultural heritages occupying a common territory tend 'to be similar or alike'. By this process people acquire the language of the immigrated people and gradually participate in the economic, political and social activities, thus becoming assimilated. Thus they become culturally similar to their neighbours and form part of a cultural solidarity. This process is known as assimilation.

Competition is an essential social process in every social system by which the individual and institutions are adapted to new condition. Competition functions as a process of selection, promotes organisation and thereby function as an agent of social change. Closely related to competition is another

process-conflict. While competition is concerned with location, position and ecological interdependence and determines the position of the individual in the community, conflict is concerned with status and control and determines the individual position in the society.

Invention and discovery are also involved in social change. Discovery of new facets or principles presupposes the invention of new methods of acting or thinking which result into new cultural traits. Social change also happens by a process of borrowing of cultural elements from some other contemporary culture. This may happen by adoption "which means the act of taking and applying something or putting into practices as one's own trait or complex which was not so originally." (Nordskog, 1960 : 34).

Related to this process, there is another concept called diffusion, whereby a trait spreads from one culture to another. It is the process by which an invention or a new institution adopted by one society is also adopted in neighbouring areas. Finally, there is another process, which covers all the various ways, whereby individuals or groups take to new culture traits, called acculturation or culture contact. Wilbert E. Moore points out the chief modes of acculturation as

imperialism, wars, conquests, missionary, religious, mass migration, individual migration, trade, tourism, transported labour, transfer of knowledge, formal communication etc. (Gore, 1965 : 86).

Parsons, Bales and others have used a different analytical framework for the analysis of social dynamics - the differential model. It assumes that the primitive social unit contains, in embryonic form and fused together all the basic modes of social relations that latter become structurally differentiated. According to this view Amitai Etzioni points "every social unit if it is to exist must fulfil a given set of functions, those of adaptation, allocation and social and normative integration . . . On the societal level, the evolution of a primitive society from a traditional into a modern one is also seen as a differentiation process. All societal functions are fulfilled by the primitive tribes ; they merely become structurally differentiated, that is they gain personal, social units and organisational structures of their own." (Amitai Etzioni, 1966 : 2).

According to the functionalistic theory of change, social change is brought about by two types of factors - exogenous and endogenous. An exogenous factor arises outside the social system, whereas the endogenous factor is internal to the social system

(Don Martindale, 1962 : 27). From this point of view the society undergoes a social change due to the impact of political, economic, judicial, cultural and social system.

The multiple factor theory of social action of Reeder on which was based Dr. Barnabas's study of social change in a North Indian village states, "there are several factors responsible for social change and that they produce a cumulative effect on any particular situation" (A.P. Barnabas, 1967, 10). "These several factors give a more adequate explanation than one or two of why people behave the way they do. These factors are : opportunity, ability, expectation, goals and values, living comfortably with odds in the face of conflict, support, self commitment force, unusual shared experience and habit, custom and institutionalised behaviour." (A.P. Barnabas, 1967 : 137).

According to Kroeber, there are certain factors in every society which he calls culture processes, "which operate either forward in the stabilization and preservation of cultures and their parts, or towards growth and change. Changes in turn, may consist either of increments such as new developments, innovations and learned traits acquired from outside or of losses and displacements (Kroeber, 1948 : 344).

Some Sociologists have applied the structural functional analysis of change while explaining social change. Johnson describes it as "we cannot deal simultaneously with all the changes that are going on in a social system. We are obliged to consider the impact of some impetus to change - 'a disturbance' of the system, a strain or conflict or a cultural or environmental impetus of some kind upon some part of the total system, and while doing so we temporarily regard the rest of the system as fixed or constant. Then we must progressively consider further repercussions of the initial change throughout the system, including those repercussions that modify the original impetus to change and its initial effects on the system. The concept of structure enables us to define the system that is subject to change. The concept of functional problems and concept of functional inter-dependence indicate for us the significance of particular interaction process. Finally, the concept of structure enables us also to define the changes that have occurred or that are to be explained." (Johnson, 1981 : 647-648). According to him social change means change in the social structure, and the social change is qualitative when something structurally new is added to the system,

Radcliff-Brown pointed out that changes may take place in the non-literate people not only by a process which he termed as culture contact, but also by another process of a different kind. He says, "There will be a region that was formerly inhabited by a particular community with their own social structure. Then the literate people by peaceful or forceful means establish control over the region. A new social structure comes into existence and then undergoes development. There grows up a new political and economic structure in which the literates exercise dominating influence. Societies of this kind would be called, "composite societies" or "plural societies." (Brown R., 1922 : 201).

The structural-functionalism developed by Redcliff Brown generally used in social anthropology is the theoretical approach to social change. This approach to social change involves "comprehension of a social system as a whole . . . a people or a tribe are studied as if their social relationships constituted a closed and integrated system. However, problems arise when factors and forces extraneous to the people or tribe are active on the scene making it impossible to describe the indigenous society. In this case the proponents of structural - functionalism deal with the



situation artificially by noting what changes have taken place in the tribes indigenous institutions. Such descriptions are then spoken of as studies of culture contact or social change (Kenneth Little, 1963 : 332).

In respect of social change, Firth gives a full account of changes in the social life of thirteen hundred Tikopians, who live in a small island of south-west Pacific. Here, he describes the changes resulted not only by the European contact alone but also takes into account of such internal factors of population growth, population movement or such environmental factors as draught or famine. Thus he describes changes in economic status and standard of living, land right, pattern of residence and marriage, descent, groupings, political structure and social control. "Many more Tikopians were employed outside the land . . . there was very much more use of land and familiarity with money. Christianity had spread in the island. The local mission had become a force in public affairs . . . Land rights were much more individualized, fragmentation had begun . . . The gap in wealth between chiefs and people has lessened and other agents of political authority had begun to appear . . . There were of course, changes in personal and inter-personal relations. There had been a good deal of social

movement (Seattie, 1961 : 168-169). This type of analysis in fact provides a "unique conspectus of development of a small island community over a quarter of a century or so", and the detailed and exact account of them which is given here provides a firmer basis for comparative analysis and for testing a hypothesis about social change. (Seattie, 1961 : 168).

In dealing with social change in India, Srinivas dealt with two major concepts - Sanskritization and Westernization. According to him of the two concepts, Sanskritization seems to have occurred throughout Indian history and still continues to occur. He says, "Sanskritization is the process by which a 'low' caste Hindu or tribal or other group, changes its customs, rituals, ideology and way of life in the direction of a high and frequently "twice born" caste. Generally such changes are followed by a claim to a higher position in the caste hierarchy than that traditionally conceded to the claimant caste by the local community. The claim is usually made over a period of time, in fact a generation or two before the arrival is conceded." (Srinivas, 1972 : 6). On the other hand, Westernization refers to changes brought about in Indian society and culture as a result of over 150 years of British rule, the term subsuming

changes occurring at different levels . . . technology, institutions, ideology and values. (Srinivas, 1962:42).

Barnabas tries to establish a relationship between the multiple factor theory and social change as follows : ". . . social action is any behaviour of an individual influenced by or directed towards other , individuals, groups, or objects. Social change is composed of the cumulative actions of the individual and groups. Some of the factors induce change, others restrict change. Some of the factors can act either as inducers of change or retarders of change. Opportunity and ability tend to induce change. The factor that restricts change is habit (custom or institutionalised behaviour). The remaining factors . . . can act either as agents of change or retarders of change . . . Individuals may be forced to change or may be forced to continue in set ways. In analysing social change it is necessary not only to explain change, but also to explain why change does not occur. (Barnabas, 1969 : 137-138).

Social change is not equally welcomed or controlled in all societies. In some cultures it comes about when people are hardly prepared for it or even conscious of its significance. Since it brings

about a new ways of life threatening the old ones, it creates serious problems to those who were following a certain way of life. Thus societies reverse the old and fear the new or the unknown. This happens in most of the primitive societies.

Among the factors that resist social change there are certain prominent factors such as inertia, fear of the new, ignorance, tradition, ethnocentrism, vested interests and so on. Psychologically, it is the individuals sense of danger to his identity and security which resists social change. The whole set of attitudes and values will be changed by a new mode of culture whether by invention or innovation and so its acceptance or rejection would primarily depend on the attitudes of the people. Therefore, "... endeavour will have to be made to inculcate a set of attitudes and values that are conducive to economic development and modernisation. (Dube, 1968 : 45-46).

It is observed that so long as people's attitudes remain rigid, social change hardly occurs or even if it occurs, it is not adequately assimilated by the mass of people. In this situation, while economists emphasize the "providing of the necessary inputs to improve the productivity, sociologists and

Psychologists tell that, in addition to providing the necessary inputs a social and psychological change should also come about . . . to accept the new methods and tools given to them." (Jacob, G. 1969 ;        ).

Yogendra Singh studied social change in the context of Indian society and discussed that "the conceptual schemes for the analysis of social change resulted from two types of forces : the disenchantment from the evolutionary speculative interpretation of social change both in India and the west, and the deepening of interest in the structure and culture of one's own society." (Singh, Y. 1977 : XVIII).

From the above discussion, it is seen that sociologists and Anthropologists emphasized on different perspectives while dealing with social change on different societies. In our study an attempt has been made to discuss the institutional pattern of the Chakma society, viz., life style, family and marriage, religion and agriculture in order to know how these parameters have been influenced by modernisation, industrialisation and urbanisation which brought about changes in this society.

### Social Progress

It might be appropriate to distinguish the terms social change, social progress, social development and social evolution because many a times these are interchangeably used. Social change is a generic term, an objective term describing one of the categorical processes. It has no value judgement attached to it. Mazumdar an eminent Sociologist says, "social change as a phenomenon is neither moral nor immoral - it is amoral." (Mazumdar, 1966 : 492). He, however, did not rule out the fact that some changes were beneficial to mankind and some were injurious. According to him the study of social change involves no value judgement. Changes are studied in the value system without being for or against the change.

On the other hand, the concept of social progress definitely involves and implies value judgements. It connotes improvement, betterment, going up higher from a lower position. The American Sociologist Lester, F. Ward was a strong believer in and advocated social progress. His emphasis is upon education as a means of social progress is thoroughly an American concept. His doctrine of teleology or telesis was not just philosophical; he related it to society - social telesis.

In the eighteenth-century "Enlightenment" and "Progress" meant emancipation from the bonds of tradition and the tyranny of power. In late nineteenth century America it seemed to be identified with the triumph and expansion of society and the exploitation of the resources of the earth. (G.R. Madan, 1978 : 10).

The central core of the problem of social progress is a balancing between the status quo (in any respect) with its assets and liabilities and the resultant change with its assets and liabilities. Should the assets of change outweigh its liabilities and are greater than the assets of the status quo progress may be said to have taken place. (Mazumdar, 1966, 492).

#### Social Development

The word 'development' connotes, implicitly if not explicitly, a conception of social change, for development is nothing but an aspect of social change. Developmental values in order to bring change must be purposive and directional. The overriding question will be changes for what ends? To answer this question we require values and ethics. "Development is inevitably treated as a normative concept . . . to pretend otherwise is just to hide one's value judgement."

(Dudley Seers, 1969 : 1-2). Sometimes development has been defined mainly in terms of industrialisation. Milton Esman says, "Development denotes a major societal transformation, a change in system states, along the continuum from peasant and pastoral to industrial organisation (Esman, 1966 : 59). Some people regard the achievement of political and economic independence as development. Still others regard enlightenment and science as essential ingredients of development. According to August Comte, positivism reason as applied to human affairs is the foundation of development. Comte thinks that human society progresses from Theological to Metaphysical stage and finally to positive stage. (Choudhary, 1979 : 68 ).

Max Weber would define development as ever increasing rationality in the affairs of human life and social relationships (Choudhary, 1971 : 68). According to Hobhouse : "A community develops as it advances in (1) scale, (2) efficiency (3) freedom (4) mutuality of service. By scale is meant size of population, by efficiency the adequate proportionment and co-ordination of function in the service of an end whatever the end may be, and whether it be or not be understood by those who contribute to it. By freedom is meant scope for thought, character and initiative



on the part of members of the community, by mutuality of service of an end in which each who serves participates." (Hobhouse, 1966 : 78).

He further adds that no one of these criteria is in itself a sufficient measure of the development of the community. "The community might grow in population while in other respects its organisation remains rudimentary. It might be efficiently organized e.g., by a powerful class for the purpose of maintaining and augmenting the wealth, power or dignity of that class . . . In actual fact development is actually one-sided." (Weber, 1960, 78-79).

### Social Evolution

Evolution is a process of gradual change. It is a descriptive term. It does not give causes but describes the ways by which nature of man and God work in the material, social and spiritual world. Ordinarily change takes place slowly, gradually, minutely. The plant evolves from the seed and the man from the infant so slowly that daily growth is not detected. It makes small adjustments more or less continually. In this way, the need for revolution is met. Evolutionary change prevents the rise of revolutionary movements.

The cosmic evolution or the development of the universe happens according to a process of origin, development and decay as planets and sun undergo transitions and pass away. Organic evolution, a phase of cosmic evolution has its cycle of birth, maturation and death. Its processes are accompanied by an infinite number of changes and modifications. Struggle for existence and survival of the fittest are terms which explain how animals and even human beings have developed.

"Organic evolution has its most important expression in mental evolution or the growth, functioning and breakdown of thinking, feeling and behaving. It is not at all clear that any mental evolution has occurred since cro-magnon days. All the present mental characteristics seem to have been possessed by primitive men. The intellectual possibilities of cro-magnon man were perhaps equal to those of modern man." (Bogardus, 1947 : 387).

Social and group evolution have developed on the basis of mental evolution. Associations of persons have no life cycle. One group may perish quickly and a similar group live on for a thousand years. A nation may become disorganised and perish or it may make the

necessary adjustments and maintain a high level of activity indefinitely.

The main characteristics of social or group evolution involves an increasing degree of complexity and a goal towards which social change is headed.

### Modernisation

The term 'modernisation' has been used in different ways in different meanings. While explaining the term it connotes Europeanisation to some, while to others Americanisation and sometimes it is called westernisation. Whatever way we explain the term of modernisation, it began as a process in western countries of Europe in the later part of nineteenth century. It involves the emergence of a new behavioural system with certain distinctive characteristics. Such a system implies considerable value-change. It implies also a common 'behavioural system' historically associated with most urban and industrial societies like north America as well as those of U.S.S.R. and Japan (Srivasta, 1975 : 3).

Modernisation today diffuses among a wider population and touches public institutions as well as private aspirations with its disquieting 'positivist spirit'. (Etzioni, 1981 : 47). Slack defined it as,

"the process by which historically evolved institutions are adapted to the rapidly changing functions that reflect the unprecedented increase in man's knowledge, permitting control over his environment, the accompanied scientific revolution". (Black, 1967 : 7).

According to Wilbert Moore, the concept of modernization denotes a "total" transformation of a traditional or pre-modern society into the types of technology and associated social organisation that characterizes the "advanced", economically prosperous, and relatively politically stable nations of the western world'. (Moore, 1963 : 89). Such a view does not conform with any tribal society because any traditional or pre-modern tribal society cannot totally transform into economically advanced society.

According to Daniel Lerner, the phases of modernisation are (a) urbanisation (b) literacy (c) media participation, and (d) political participation." (Daniel Lerner, 1964 : 69). Whether the phases visualised by Lerner are applicable as a rigid framework or not is questionable. Because the area under study is far behind the concept of urbanisation or in the literacy field or media participation. Yet, it may be said that the rate of political participation is very high in this area. This is an extremely contradictory trend.

Initially modernization was used as co-terminus to economic development, i.e., capital formation was given more importance. This conception was mainly applied to third world countries. But this view point has been modified due to the growing awareness of the role of non-economic factors. Max Weber propounded the antithesis "of the spirit of capitalism", which according to him had played a germinal role in the modernisation of the west. But this traditional values were now thought to be important in retarding modernisation in some of the third world countries (Parsons, 1973 : 72, 86). Thus for understanding modernization various factors should be given importance. The phrase of modernisation among the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts seems very slow but the following forces may be regarded as the agents and the indicators of modernization specially among the Chakmas.

- (1) Modern education
- (2) Westernised dress and food
- (3) Urban growth
- (4) Modern means of transportation and communication
- (5) Economy
- (6) Improvement in agriculture
- (7) Political consciousness

From among the tribals of the Chittagong Hill Tracts the Chakmas are highly advanced. They have taken advantage of modern education imparted to the tribals on a larger scale than other tribals. They have also changed their mode of dress and have now adopted modern western dress. They have also changed their food habits. Another notable fact is that considerable migration from farms and villages towards urban centres has taken place due to the changes in the ecological dimensions of the territory in which the Chakmas lived. Due to the out-migration and continued contact with the village area, a marked improvement is now seen in economy, agriculture as well as transport and communication systems. Improvement in the agricultural methods have resulted in a higher yield of products and this has made the Chakmas politically aware and have made them conscious of preserving their culture. The above facts relating to institutional achievement of Chakmas given an encouraging picture of the progress made by them. The impact of modernisation on the educational condition of the Chakmas brought about the change of occupational pattern, their recreation and leisure time activities as a factor of modernisation have been undertaken in our study to understand the change of the Chakma society.

### Cultural Change

Cultural change is another term which is frequently used in discussions of social change. Although there is an overlapping between the concepts of cultural change and social change. Cultural change refers to alterations which occur in material (such as computer, farm machinery, trains etc.) and non-material (such as language, sexual norms, attitude towards divorce etc.) aspects of culture. Sociologists are primarily interested in changes in social relationship (social change) but they cannot ignore the cultural changes which initiate, accompany and result from social change.

Change is a universal phenomenon. The change process involves both the biological or cultural forms. The best example of biological process of change is stated as evolution, growth and decay but the cultural process of change is difficult to comprehend because we lack adequate knowledge of it. Changes have been viewed with different perspectives. It may be viewed as alteration in the total system, its structure or its function. Earlier thinkers (Combe, Morgan, Taylor, Spencer) thought change is evolutionary like biological change. This was followed later by Radcliff Brown and Malinowski who explained that change

in any term or component of the system will bring about change in the total system. Internal factors such as new inventions or external factors such as conquest by another society may bring about cultural change. We know that society is not completely static, rather it is changing constantly. The rate and type of change may be slow or gradual as it was during the paleolithic or fast and drastic as it has been in contemporary societies. (Gillin and Gillin, 1948 : 489).

According to Encyclopaedia of Anthropology culture change is a modification in the elements and patterns of a cultural system (1976 : 16). Hence it is the primary means of human adaptation to changing environmental circumstances.

Cultural change may take place due to :

(1) To know the internal or external factors that occur change in rates and types of culture.

(2) To know the process by which culture change takes place.

(3) To know the availability of models and methods for the study of culture change.

(4) How the concept of culture change is related to other associated phenomena, i.e., diffusion, innovation, evolution acculturation and nativism.



According to Mahapatra there are different processes through which culture changes :

(1) The Processing of Growth

Invention, patterning, integration, universalization, parochialisation and synthesis.

(2) Process of Transmission

Invention, diffusion, acculturation and socialisation.

(3) Process of Change

Evolution, adaptation, cultural drift, reinterpretation, syncretisation, assimilation, acculturation, modernisation.

(4) Specific Process of Change

Sanskritisation, Westernisation, Tribalisation, Brahminisation, Kulinisation, Hinduisation etc.

(5) Problems of Culture Contact

Adoption and rejection of innovation, cultural resistance, revivalism and revitalisation. (Saikia, 1983 : 19).

### Factors influencing Cultural Change

There are no specific factors that may generate significant shifts in rates and types of culture change. One may favour some factors, others may not support them. Some Anthropologists favour basically Marxist or neo-Marxists interpretations. Others emphasize upon ecology and stress the adaptation of a culture to its environment as the primary factor. Other scholars emphasise the importance of "religious ideology" (Weber, 1922), Cultural 'themes' (Opler 1945) and cultural focus (Herskovits, 1955) or like Geertz (1957) to inherent ideas and tensions in social and cultural systems that generate constant pressure for change. Hollowell (1955) and Wallace (1961) stressed psychological aspects of culture change.

According to Ron A. Vogt in the International Encyclopaedia of Social Sciences there are three general factors that can influence change in a given culture:

- (1) "Any change in the ecological niche occupied by a society influences culture change such a change may occur as a result of either (a) natural environmental change (b) the migration of a society from one ecological niche to another.

(2) Any contact between two societies with different cultural patterns influences change in both societies. The diffusion or borrowing of cultural elements and more usually called "acculturation" generate more significant shift in the rates and types of change in the two cultures.

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(3) Any revolutionary change occurs within the society is an important factor for cultural change. Murdock explained evolution simply to designate process of orderly adaptive change." (Vogt, 1968 : 554-555).

#### Cultural Terminologies and their Meanings

There are many postulates which define the cultural change such as assimilation, acculturation, adaptation, accommodation, adjustment, diffusion, integration, interaction and syncretisation.

Assimilation : It is a process in which persons of diverse ethnic and social backgrounds come to interact, free of these constraints in the life of the larger community. (Milton 1968 - 2 : 60). Assimilation implies a dispersion of subordinate status, their increasing participation in the social systems of the majority group. Complete assimilation means if any separate social structure based on racial or ethnic

concepts remains no more. A.N. Eisenstadt in 'The Absorption of Immigrants' said that changes in the receiving society may be induced through contact with immigrants and that a state of cultural pluralism may be one of stable equilibrium (Eisenstadt, SN. 1954 : 9).

Assimilation takes place mainly by two ways:

(1) Innovation - Anything which is new may be a thing, a new object of a new action (2) Borrowing - There is no culture without any influence of the external factors. Naturally every new culture shall have to borrow from some other culture.

Acculturation : It is the process whereby societies of different cultures are modified through fairly close and long continued contact, but without blending of the two cultures.

Acculturation is sometimes regarded as a process which "works only in one direction, that is some tribal societies are undergoing this process only through loss of their original cultures and adapting new customs and meanings. But it must be known that acculturation has two processes - that two societies very seldom come into contact without the cultures of both being mutually modified to some degree." (Gillin and Gillin, 1948 : 536).

Adaptation : It refers to the processes whereby an organism accommodates to its environment. In Sociology adaptation is used to refer to the manner in which a social system, whether it is a small group such as the family or a larger collectivity such as an organisation or even a total society like a tribal society fits into the physical or social environment.

Accommodation : The term accommodation which is analogous to the term 'adaptation' is the process by which living things become adjusted to the environment. By this term the sociologists means the process by which competing and conflicting individuals and groups adjust their relationship to each other in order to overcome the difficulties which arise in competition, contravention or conflict.

Adjustment : Some social psychologists refer to it as the process whereby an individual enters into a harmonious relationship with his environment, physical or social but occasionally used by some Sociologists to refer to a social unit, like a group or organisation accomplishing the same end. (Mitchell, 1977 : 3).

Diffusion : Culture grows not only by invention and discovery but also by diffusion. It borrows and accepts cultural traits or patterns from other social

unit or individual. Sometimes, it is thought of a movement of traits through space. Culture traits and patterns pass through time - that is from generation to generation. (Young and Mack, 1972 : 460-461).

Integration : When assimilation carries through without hindrance, associated with cultural processes, there is integration social or cultural which is regarded sometimes as social unity. Every functional group in society enjoys some degree of integration otherwise the two functioning groups would lose its identity.

Interaction : It is a necessary prerequisite for social activity of any sort. By social interaction we refer to social relations of all sorts in function - whether such relations exist between individual and individual between group and group or between group and individual as the case may be. In social interaction social roles and cultural norms are to be understood in relation to the influence of the new factors which are impinging on the existing system (Gillin & Gillin, op.cit. : 489).

Syncretisation : Different patterns of cultures be it the new and the old the native and the foreign may combine and co-exist which may not appear as

incongruous or self contradictory this type of process is called syncretisation.

#### Outline of the Study

In the chapters that follow an analysis of the impact of both exogeneous and endogenous factors on a particular local community in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is studied. Attempts were made to survey the more important paradigmatic ones which represent coherent traditions of research.

The first part of the study (Second Chapter) deals with geographical, demographical and historical background of the Chakma people. The methodology, tools and techniques which have been used in the study are also elaborately discussed.

The third chapter discusses the life pattern of this community. It explores how the industrial set up in a tribal belt has transformed the way of life of socially depressed classes of tribal group. It also discusses the process of change of their life style, leisure time activities and recreation, due to modernisation, industrialization and urbanisation. 7

The fourth chapter discusses the family and traditional marriage system of the Chakma people. It

also includes the analysis of the change of marriage system due to modernisation.

The fifth chapter explores the need of conceptualising the semi-feudal, non-monetized mode of production of this region. The pattern of cultivation and landholding of this community have also been discussed.

The sixth chapter analyses the religion and participation in religious performances of this community. It underlines the change of religious activities due to modern outlook.

Chapter seventh explores the impact of the Kaptai dam during the Pakistani regime and also after creation of Bangladesh on the socio-economic and cultural life of the tribal people. The impact of plainsmen migration to this region and the social interaction of the local people with them has also been dealt with. It also presents some changes in political outlook of the Chakma people.

The last chapter summarises the findings of the work and tries to draw conclusion and offers some suggestions for future studies.



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## Chapter II

### Methodology

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## CHAPTER II

### METHODOLOGY

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## CHAPTER II

## METHODOLOGY

Description of the Universe*As stated earlier,*

→ The primary aim of this study is to throw light on the process of social change in the Chakma Society located in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Bangladesh. It is assumed that while examining and analysing the process of social change, different aspects of interaction patterns would bear out the hypotheses and clearly indicate the process of transition witnessed in traditional institutions of Chakma society envisaged through customs of food and drink, as well as of marriage. It would be our endeavour to find out whether any changes have occurred due to acculturation, adjustment to the new situation, environment and assimilation of the Chakma people to the mainstream.

*Is there any such thing?*

The investigation was carried out with the help of scientifically accepted methodological tools.

however, with a view to analyse the different parameters of social and cultural change that are taking place in Chakma society it was felt necessary to describe the geographical and historical factors of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in brief for the proper understanding of the area under study.

#### The Chittagong Hill Tracts : A Profile

The Chittagong Hill Tracts remains terra incognita for Bangladeshi scholars. Sociologists, Economists and Anthropologists have paid very little attention to this area. The reason for such a neglect presumably can be brought forward in many ways. Firstly, due to lack of communication with other parts of the country, the region remained completely neglected during the Pakistani regime. Moreover, the nature of backwardness of this region was always measured as similar to other parts of the country by the previous rulers. Hence a separate study of the region was felt unnecessary and at best irrelevant. Secondly, earlier rulers never thought of uplifting the tribal population emphasising specially designed programmes which could achieve their objective keeping in conformity with the rest of the country. Thirdly, the tribal society is also viewed as "a system lower down the evolutionary scale than others showing certain aberrations which

would be superseded by rationality and modernity with the emergence of market economy." (Jahangir, 1978:109).

The Chittagong Hill Tracts occupies a special position within the national context of Bangladesh in the undermentioned aspects :

(1) The Chittagong Hill Tracts as the name indicates is a land of hills and forests, which generally evokes striking images of rugged majestic scenic beauty, magnificent lakes and artificial water-courses, serpent shaped rivers and tributaries, densely forested valleys, ravines and cliffs covered with trees, bushes and creeper jungles.

(2) In area it was the largest district in Bangladesh until its southern and northern parts were made into two separate and independent districts in 1981 and 1983 respectively, whereas the population represents less than 0.6 per cent (1981 Census) of the national total.

very  
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(3) Situated on the extreme south-eastern tip of the country and connected by a small bottleneck of land with the remainder of the country, the Hill Tracts have been in extremely peripheral geographical location.

(4) Most of the inhabitants of the Hill Tracts are different from the rest of the population of the country. They are Buddhists and partly Hindus and Christians of Mongoloid Tribal origin as opposed to the Muslim Bengali population predominant in the rest of the country.

(5) The district has a history dating back to Moghul times of internal self administration while being loyal to the centre.

(6) The district's special position is being underlined by its legal special status based on Regulation I of 1900 and codified in the so-called "Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual". (ADB Main Report, 1978 : 16).

(7) The district has experienced the highest rate of immigration in the whole of Bangladesh between 1964 and 1981 and it had the highest growth rate of population in the country (46.85%) followed by Dhaka (32.02%) and Chittagong (26.91%).

The Chittagong Hill Tracts is generally enriched with natural resources. The district is a mass of hills, rivers and cliffs covered with dense bamboo brakes, various kinds of tall trees and creeper jungles. Its timber is one of the finest in the world. Its bamboo is the key to the country's paper industry.

Elephants, tigers, deer, bear, wild pigs, martens, fishing cat, Hone badgar, Hog badgar, various species of birds and fish are its speciality. Sandstone, natural gas, coal, limestone and saltlicks, have been discovered from different areas of the district, and minerals presumed to be in abundance. The hill slopes are ideally suited for tea and rubber plantations. Orchards and small holdings produce pineapples, bananas, cashewnut, mango, jackfruits, papaya, bel, guava and varieties of fruits and a wide range of vegetables in abundance.

The history of the Chittagong Hill Tracts shows constant warfare among the rulers of Bengal, Tripura and Arakan for supremacy and territorial control of the reign and it came too often under subjugation and colonization of alien forces until the Moghal conquest in 1666 and subsequent control of it by East India Company since 1760. The colonisation of the Hill Tracts by the Bengalee population was resented and records show that as early as in 1778 demands were made for explicit safeguards against Bengali Jotedars and Choudharies (Islam, H.S. 1760-87, 1-33). It became a special district in 1860. Recently the district was divided into three districts with headquarters

at Rangamati, Khagrachari and Bandarban headed by a Deputy Commissioner appointed by the government who has executive, administrative and judicial powers. The District of Chittagong Hill Tracts has under its control 24 Upa-zillas (sub-districts) and each Upa-zilla is again divided into several unions and mauzas. It is worth mentioning here that the whole administrative set up is in the hands of Bengalis and not in the hands of the tribal people. This system, except for the special status of the Deputy Commissioner, is common throughout the country. The fact is that simultaneously there is a structure through this the hillmen were brought into the general framework. It is the juxtaposition of these two, which marks the peculiarity of the Hill Tracts.

#### Administrative Structure

Here, the main feature of the social set up of the tribe is detailed. Their socio-economic and political organisation is segmentary in nature. At the central level the power structure is hierarchical, but at the village level, the exercise of political power depends on the allegiance expressed by the interconnected segmentary units. While it is divided into three districts each under a non-tribal officer, the

Chittagong Hill Tracts falls into three tribal 'circles'. Each circle is headed by a "Raja" or Chief". The circle in its turn is sub-divided into 'mauzas' each under a Headman, and the 'mauza' into Paras (village) each of which has a Karbari. This administrative structure is unique for the reason that the administrative structure of the government is made to coincide upto a point with the traditional organisation of the hillmen. At present the administrative divisions in the district does not correspond to the tribal divisions.

The three Rajas of the Chakma, the Mong and the Bomony have no administrative power and are no longer tribal chiefs in the proper sense of the term; but they may advise the government on matters relating to administration and development of the district. The border lines of the respective circles of the Rajas also cut across tribal divisions. In each circle the Raja has, under his jurisdiction, people from several tribes. The three chiefs were bestowed with the administrative powers by the Hill Tracts Regulation Act, 1920, which made them responsible for all affairs within their respective circle. The 'mouza headman' are nominated by the chiefs and appointed by the Deputy Commissioner. It was resolved by the Government

TABLE 10.2.1 : The Administrative Structure of the Chittagong Hill Tracts

The Chittagong Hill Tracts

Chagrachari District			Rangamati District			Bandarban District		
Deputy Commissioner	Mong Chief		Deputy Commissioner	Chakma Chief		Deputy Commissioner	Bohmang Chief	
Upa-Zilla (Sub-District Executive Officer)	Mouza (Headman)		Upa-Zilla (Upazilla Executive Officer)	Mouza (Headman)		Upa-Zilla (Upazilla Executive Officer)	Mouza (Headman)	
Union Council (Chairman)	Para or Village (Karbari)		Union Council (Chairman)	Para or Village (Karbari)		Union Council Chairman	Para or Village (Karbari)	



in 1973 that the headman must be chosen from among the tribal people.

The head of a village is the 'karbai', who maintains law and order in the village and serves summons issued by the headman. The Chakma 'headman' were mostly 'Dewan' of a clan and 'Choudhury' and 'Raoza' for the Karma and the Trioura community respectively. They were most powerful in revenue and judicial matters. They could try all cases except those of murder, which were tried only by the civil administration. The office of a headman or a 'karbari' are hereditary. The chief has the power of imposing fines, of enforcing restitution and of imprisonment. Similarly, the 'headman' regulates the affairs of their 'mauzas', having powers of imposing fines upto TK.25, enforcing restitution and detention until the Deputy Commissioner's orders are received. The 'Karbari' is appointed by the chief. In between the 'Dewan' and the 'Karbari' of the Chakmas there is a functionary known as the 'Khisa' but his functions are minimal. A Khisa is only appointed if the clan is so large that the 'Dewan' cannot administer it directly. But these functionaries retain no power and glory now-a-days.

However, for the preservation of long standing traditions of tribal structure, the Government of

Pakistan adopted the following basic principles for the administration of the district on June 30, 1967.

(1) No middlemen would be allowed between the representatives of the Government and the tribal people. All lawyers and attorneys were directed to refrain from playing foul in matters between two hillmen in the court.

(2) The maximum simplification of legal *other* procedure should be observed. In order words the hillmen should not be overburdened with expenses of adjudications.

(3) Administration of justice should be quick and expeditious.

(4) Non-interference of tribal laws, customs and norms that regulate the tribal life.

Thus with these principles, "the Government restrained the district administration from interfering in tribal social affairs other than legal matters, which require the interference of administrative authority. The persistence and working of this dyarchy in the Hill Tracts reinforces the tribal peoples' allegiance to the tribal chiefs rather than to the central Government". (Islam, J.N., 1981 : 1211).

### Land Rights and Land Tenure System

The land tenure system in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is different from other parts of Bangladesh. There are 800 thousand acres of 'Reserved Forests' (RF) land and 'Unclassed State Forest (USF)' land comprising of 2.4 million acres. The former is exclusively government land controlled by the Forest Department. The latter is known as Khas land and under the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation No. 1 of 1900 and as subsequently amended, the Deputy Commissioner (District Authority) is empowered, inter alia, "to regulate or restrict the transfer of land" and "to regulate the acquisition by government the land required for public purposes." (Forest Communities Practising Shifting Cultivation, 1980 : 16). There are three kinds of USF land with three forms of land tenure systems. The 'alluvial' or plain or settled land which is almost flat at the river beds and in the pockets of hills. This land is given on lease by the Deputy Commissioner to the people. This kind of land tenure system is almost similar as in other parts of Bangladesh. There is another kind of land which is called 'grove' land where only trees and other plants can grow. This land (2.4 million acres

in area) belongs to the government, one can cultivate any patch of land by the 'jhumias' with permission of the headman on nominal rate of revenue. There is a third kind of land known as fringe land (annually about 15 thousand acres) and it comes up when lake water recedes. In this land only paddy can be grown. The fringe land is also leased out to people generally by the 'headman' of the mouza concerned.

Land tenure is, therefore, not applicable properly with the hill mode of cultivation. It exists only among the hill people in those cases where the British authorities have succeeded in inducing them to abandon the indigenous system of cultivation.

According to Regulation, "the quantity of cultivable or cultivated flat land to be settled for plough cultivation by a single family of tribal; or non-tribal residents shall be such as added to the quantity of such land already in its possession does not exceed 5 acres. In addition to the flat land for plough cultivation land for grove plantation not exceeding 5 acres may be settled by such family."

(Forest Communities Practicing Shifting Cultivation, 1980 : 17). The Deputy Commissioner may allot land upto 5 acres to a single family of tribal or non-tribal residents for rubber or any other plantation. In

deserving cases the settlement may be upto 10 acres or more.

All settlements of lands shall be concluded in the form of a lease prescribed by the Board of Revenue and shall be registered. A tenant directly under government control shall have permanent and heritable rights in the land for which he pays rent unless there is a definite contract that his right is not permanent or heritable.

There is a rule that no lease or sub-lease shall be allowed to transfer by sale, gift or mortgage the whole or part of his holding without the previous sanction of the Deputy Commissioner.

The headman collects rent from all existing tenants and all classes of leases and pays the amount collected by him to the Uda-Zilla (Sub-district) Executive Officer. He will receive commission on collection. The headman also collects Jhum tax at a fixed rate for each Jhuming family, and shall pay the tax to the chief. The chiefs shall declare what classes of persons are by custom exempted from 'Jhuming' tax within their 'circle' and shall submit for the prior approval of the Deputy Commissioner.

The District of Chittagong Hill Tracts ceased to be a tribal area with effect from the 10th January, 1964 and the Acts and Ordinances passed or made after the said date automatically became applicable to this district. Henceforth, the function of the chiefs and the headman became nominal having practically no power in their hands.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board

With a view to accelerating the rate of economic and social development in the district, 'The Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board' was created in January 1976. It has multisectoral development programmes such as agriculture, transport, education, sports and culture, trade, commerce, social welfare and health throughout the district. The most notable programme that has been functioning is 'Joutha Khamer', the rehabilitation programme of landless Jhumias.

Physical Features

*such it is not necessary*

(a) Location : The Chittagong Hill Tracts is situated between 21°25' and 23°45' north latitude and between 91°45' and 92°50' east longitude. It comprises of a total area of 5993 square miles and has a total population of 7,46,000 (1981 Census). Among them the tribal population of 4,37,608 the Chakma

population is 2,16,963. The district has seven main river valleys formed by the Changi, Myani, Kassalong, Feni, Karnafuli, Sanghu and Matamuhuri rivers and their tributaries and numerous hill ravines and cliffs originally covered with forest bush and creeper jungles. The district is bounded on the north by the Tripura State (India); on the south by Burma and on the east by the Arakan Hill Tracts of Burma and the Lushai Hills (Mizo Hills). It presents a sharp contrast to the rest of the country not only in topography but also with regard to climate, ethnicity of its population, their economy, culture, religion, communication and social structure.

(b) Hills and Mountain Ranges :

Geographically, the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts belongs to the hilly region that branches off from the Himalayan ranges to the south through Assam and Hill Tribes to Arakan and Burma. It has eleven hill ranges four in the north and seven in the south.

Northern Hills :

(1) Phoromain Range, 1518 ft. at Phoromain, 1,429 feet at Ramoahar and 1,367 ft. at Shanganura.

(2) Dholejari Range. Its highest peak is Langtrai (1,405 ft.).

(3) Bhuachari Range. Its highest Peak at Changpal rises to 2,003 feet.

(4) Barkal Range. Its highest peaks are -  
Khantlang 2,240 ft. Thangneng 2,439 ft. Lungliang  
2,266 ft. Chigul 1,535 ft., Barataung 1,467 ft. and  
Barkal 1,875 ft.

#### Southern Hills

(5) Muranja Range. Its peaks are Muranja  
1,644 ft, Nashoo Taung 1920 ft. and Fasi Taung 2,176 ft.

(6) Wayla Range. It reaches 1,356 ft. at  
Wayla Taung.

(7) Pyambaung or Chimbuk Range : Its peaks  
are Lalaing 2,303 ft, Kro 2,846 ft. Thainkhiang 2,930 ft.  
Pungriang 2,784 ft. and Tindu 2,944 ft.

(8) Batimoin Range. It reaches 1,724 ft.  
at Bati Taung.

(9) Politai Range. Its peaks are : Sitanahar  
1,420 ft. Chilachari 1,565 ft. Ramia Taung 3,018 ft.  
Politai 2,724 ft. and Keokrawong 2,960 ft.



(10) Saichal Range : Saichal Peak 2,125 ft.

(11) Bilaichari Range : Bilaichari Peak  
1,964 ft. (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 3-4).

Highest Hills of the District are :

(1) Keokradong Hill, 4,034 ft, and

(2) Pyramid Hill, 3,017 ft.

#### Waterfalls :

There are several waterfalls at Dholejuri. Two of the highest falls are of 196 ft. and 130 ft. A waterfall of 350 ft. in height is situated near the Lulainq Peak of the Chimbak Range. Further south there is another waterfall of 150 ft. There are also a good number of waterfalls in the southern hill range, (Chakma, 1983 : 5).

#### Climate :

Although generally hot and humid, the climate varies from one season to another. The season from November to March is sunny, dry and relatively cool; from April to May it is sunny, but very hot and is accompanied by occasional rains and thunderstorms; and affected by the monsoon it remains warm, cloudy and wet from June to October. The total annual rainfall

throughout the district varies generally between 85 and 120 inches, rising sometimes to 150 inches in the far south. The maximum and minimum temperatures vary between 95.1°F and 50.3°F, respectively. The occasional heavy rainfall (more than 20 inches within a few days) causes serious flood within the Hill Tracts and in the adjoining areas of Chittagong. Squally winds accompanied by nor'wester during April - May occasionally cause damage to standing crops, trees and houses.

#### Classification of soil

Comprehensive analysis of soils of Chittagong Hill Tracts was carried out by Forestal Forestry and Engineering International Ltd., under the Cambodian Colombo Plan. They classified the total 23,59,913 acres of land into five categories : A, B, C, CD and D.

- (1) A - category lands (16,466 acres) are suitable for cultivation of any sort of crop.
- (2) B - category lands (67,817 acres) are bumpy, but may be brought under hill slope cultivation.
- (3) C - category lands (3,66,622 acres) are also bumpy and of inferior quality. Some of the lands may be suitable for hill slope cultivation.

(4) CD - category lands (32,024 acres) include steep slopes and hill peaks which must be heavily terraced to make them suitable for cultivation.

(5) D - category lands (18,16,930 acres) are unsuitable for cultivation and should be turned into forests. (District Gazetteer : 5).

#### Flora and Fauna

The district is covered with dense bamboo braks, tall trees and creeper jungles. In many other areas the forests and natural vegetation have been cleared and destroyed by the tribals for Jhum cultivation, deforestation by the government and the settlement of the plainsmen in forest areas. In such forest clearing the flora now consists mainly of such persistent weeds as the sungrass, assamlata (*Eupatorium odoratum*), *Mikania Scandens* and tall grass species in addition to few scattered deciduous trees and numerous shrubs which grow amidst the grasses and weeds.

The mammalian fauna of Chittagong Hill Tracts is not as rich as before due to the expansion of agriculture and industry. It seems from old records that the great Indian rhinoceros and the Indian two horned Rhinoceros lived in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area but are now extinct. The Gaur (*Bos gaurus*) and

*such a description not necessary*

hanting (b, hanting) clouded Leopard, Leopard cat, marbled cat, Golden cat, serow are also either extinct or on the verge of extinction. At present different mammals are seen in this area such as monkey, Asian Jackal, Bengal Fox, Indian wild dog, sun Bear, Martens, Weasels, Honey-sucker, Hog Badger, Jungle Cat, Fishing Cat, Panther, Tiger, Deer, Porcupines, Scaly Anteater etc.

#### Birds

Chittagong Hill Tracts possess the richest avifauna of Bangladesh. This is the only district to support the typically tropical evergreen forest species of birds in addition to other species to be found in open countries and cultivated areas. It can be said that out of about 66 families of birds occurring in Bangladesh as many as 55 are represented in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and those which are not represented are mostly marine and shore birds (District Gazetteers : 13).

#### Fishes

The Karnafuli reservoir, the biggest man-made artificial lake has been created as a result of the construction of the dam across the river Karnafuli at Kaptai for the installation of Karnafuli Hydroelectric

Power Station. Before construction of the dam in 1960, there was abundance of fish in the Karnafuli river. The collection of fishes as recorded by the Directorate of Fisheries reveals that 55 species of fishes belonging to different families were available in the Karnafuli river.

#### Lakes

- (1) The Kainkhyonckine Lake : It is situated in the upper reach of the Kainkhyong river on the east side of the Ramakri Taung.
- (2) The Bagakine Lake : It is situated 2,000 ft. above the sea level at Naitong mauza to the east of the police station of Buma on the Sangu river. It has a depth of 125 ft. Although the water is drinkable, no fish lives and no weed can grow in it.
- (3) Noonchari Matloukires Lake : Situated 700 ft. above the sea level on the Phoromain Hill ranges at the upper reach of the Noonchari stream under Mahalchari Police Station of Khagrachari District. Prawn and other species of fish abound and weed is grown in it.
- (4) Kaptai Lake : The most important and largest man made lake in the district is the artificial lake built in 1960 on account of the Kaptai Dam at Kaptai on the river Karnafuli. It has an area of 256 square miles.

### Reserve Forests

In the Chittagong Hill Tracts Forest Division are functioning namely the Hill Tracts North Division, the Hill Tracts South Division and the Jhum (Shifting cultivation) Control Division. In addition to these three divisions, there are two reserve forests namely the control of Sangu Reserves and Matamuhuri Reserves.

(1) Area of the forests before the closer of the Kaptai Dam :

- (a) North Division - 679.50 sq. miles.
- (b) South Division - 321.99 sq. miles.
- (c) Unclassed State Forests - 3,400.00 sq.miles.

(2) Area of Forest after the closure of the dam.

- (a) North Division - 617.00 sq. miles
- (b) South Division - 315.00 sq. miles
- (c) Unclassed State Forest - 3,166.00 sq.miles.

(3) Area of Sangu R.F. - 128.25 sq. miles

(4) Area at Matamuhuri R.F. - 160.71 sq. miles

Protected forest under the Jhum Control Board - 54,20 sq. miles. (District Gazetteers - 99-100).

### The People

The district is at present inhabited by 13 'Mongolid' tribes, each speaking its own distinct dialect. The three principal tribes are Chakma, Garma and Tripura and they account for nine-tenth of the tribal population living in the district. In addition, there are the Mro, the Kuki, the Kheyong and the Pankho, all forming the Kuki group of the inhabitants of the district and 6 other tribes. The tribals are ethnically different from the settled population of the rest of Bangladesh. They have closer links with the hill people of vast region that extends from Tibet to Indo-China. These people are divided into a number of different groups of various names and origin as it appears from the table 2.2

The tribals are mostly Buddhists, Hindus and Christians. The Muslims are mostly outsiders. Thus the proportion of Muslim population can give a correct idea of the proportion of people who immigrated from other districts of Bangladesh, since hardly any local people are converted to Islam.

TABLE No. 2.2 : Ethnic Origin with Alternative names of Chittagong Hill Tracts

Main Name	Alternative Names	Major groups
1. Chakmas	Thek, Thi-Thek	Arakanese
2. Marma	Mogh, Murma, Bhugh, armagri	
3. Tripura	Tipra, Tio (P) era	Tripura Group
4. Tanchangya		
5. Riang		
6. Murong		
7. Lushai		
8. Panku	Panko, Pakhin, Pankho	Kuki Group
9. Bon	Bonjogi, Bon, Banjogi Bam (Jogi)	
10. Chak		
11. Khumia	Khumi	
12. .		
13. .hyang	Khuan, Khayeng, Sao Kuanang	

(BIDS, 1980 : 13).



Table No. 2.3 : Population of the Tribal People  
in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1981.

Name of the tribe		Population (based on 1981 Census)
(1)	Chakma	2,15,963 ✓
(2)	Marma	1,18,973
(3)	Mro	51,463
(4)	Machangya	17,734
(5)	Mro	16,854
(6)	Mro	4,984
(7)	Other tribes	10,632
TOTAL :		4,37,608

Source : Bangladesh Population Census, August, 1981  
Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics.

As population density is low in the district it is to be expected that it would attract people from other districts because of greater pressure of population there. The settlement of people from the plains in the district has recently increased the density of population.

TABLE NO. 2.4 :: Population by Religion (in Thousands)

Religion	1961	1974	1981
Buddhists	276	338	394
Hindus	48	53	71
Muslims	45.3	96	259
Christians	19.2	13.3	14
Others	6.3	7.9	8

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Source : Census Reports 1961 and 1984. Statistical  
Year Book of Bangladesh, 1982, p.91.

TABLE No. 2.5 :: Density of Population in Chittagong  
Hill Tracts

1901	1911	1921	1931	1941	1951	1961	1974	1984
25	31	35	43	49	57	75	103	147

=====

Source : Statistical Year Book of Bangladesh 1982,  
Statistical Division, Government of Bangladesh,  
p.58.

It may thus be seen from Table 2.4 and 2.5 that there is a gradual increase in the population of various religious sects (Table 2.4) and also increase in the density of the population.

### Methodology

#### Description of the study

The overall goal of this socio-economic survey is to provide a set of meaningful and reliable data on the social structural and economic variables of the rural and urban households of the project area which will help us to understand the present way of life of the Chakmas. It is held by scholars and historians that the Chakmas are not the natives of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. They were migrants from upper Burma during 1418 and took refuge in their present place of habitats. Since then, governments changed from the British to Pakistan and at last to Bangladesh. During this long span of time the tribals mixed with different kinds of people and came in contact with their cultures. How far these people and their culture have influenced the Chakmas in different periods is studied here. Of all the tribes the Chakmas live along with the main streams and are taking education.

The traditional culture of the Chakmas are fast changing under the influence of modernity, agriculture, science and technology and easy accessibility of transportation. The educated Chakmas are taking up jobs outside their villages which has tremendous implication for social change. They are from an independent traditional background but while living in the towns they adopted modern ways of outlook. These factors created changes in the socio-economic set up of the Chakma people. Thus, the change in the life pattern of these people from traditional to modernity, from rural to urban setting and the impact of modernisation are the main objectives of the present study.

#### (a) Procedure of Field work

The survey was conducted in the submerged area caused due to the construction of Kaptai dam and its creation of reservoir as well as non-submerged area taking one town and one village from each area. The selection of the project area was made in order to get comprehensive information so as to enable us to understand the changes that are taking place in this district.

The project area comprises of the geographical area of Rangamati (undivided district headquarters)

under municipality area and Karalyachari village under Sabhekhyong mouza of submerged area, Khagra-chari town and sub-urban area (recently created district headquarter) and Karalchari village under B uachari Mouza of non-submerged area. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts a mouza is a village while the sub-units are paras but in the plains in Bangladesh a mouza consists of a number of villages. In this study the words 'mouza' and 'village' are used interchangeably.

Both Rangamati and Khagrachari being the district headquarters have shown a marked change in the institutional relationship of the Chakma society. Rangamati town the nerve centre of the region is situated on the right bank of the river Karnafuli (now the reservoir of the Karnafuli Hydel Project, Kaptai) about 63 miles up the city of Chittagong by river and 48 miles by road to the north east. It is about 2 square miles in area. The population of Rangamati town according to 1981 Census is 36,490 of which, 22,033 are males and 14,457 females. (Bangladesh Population Census 1981 : 22). But the population of the Chakmas was not known from the Census report. The origin of the name of Rangamati is not known. Probably the town derived its name from the streamlet, Rangamati, which used to flow into the Karnafuli from the east

and the south-eastern corner of the town and possibly it was the Chakmas who gave the name to both the town and the streamlet on account of the reddish colour of the soil.

The old Ranganati town has been submerged by the reservoir and the present town is surrounded by a vast sheet of water on the east and by narrow strips of water on the north-west and south flowing into its heart at different places from different directions. The scenic beauty of the town is very enchanting and the landscape is visible on all sides. Besides a lake or almost transparent water dancing in ripples under the glittering sun in the foreground and two ranges of hills running almost parallel from north to south present a magnificent sight.

Ranganati is also the headquarter of the Chakma circle and its chief. It is a tourist centre. It is connected with Chittagong by a high way. On the other hand, Khagrachari town the new district headquarter is situated on the right bank of the Chengi river. It is also connected with Chittagong by a recently constructed similar high way and by launch-cum-jeep service with Ranganati. It is a well-known business centre. In these two town areas, there is a considerable increase in the number of Chakma people receiving education and gaining employment in various offices.

Karalyachari is a badly affected village by the construction of the dam. The villagers opted for staying at the hill top instead of shifting to any rehabilitation area. Kamalchari village is situated near Khagrachari town. The people from these villages go to urban places for various purposes mix and exchange views and ideas with different people. When they return to their places introduce what they assimilated outside. These factors created changes in the socio-economic set up of the Chakma people. Thus the selection of the project areas has been made on certain considerations which are as follows:

(1) The towns and villages were selected from both submerged and non-submerged area considering the feasibility of easy communication and accessibility into the area was the prime factor for selection of research.

(2) Existence of educational institutions is one of the factors presumably on the assumption that education played vital role in changing the life of the people.

(3) Presence of close habitation and clustering of households in the area mainly consisting of Chakma population.

(4) The areas are clearly distinct from other areas in terms of boundaries and terms of functioning.

(5) Assuming that the project areas would be useful to furnish data to assess the impact of modernisation and urbanisation.

#### Unit of study

The unit of the study was household and the respondent was the head of the household. Many characteristics of the study such as age, marital status, occupation, education etc. pertained to the individual and heads of the household were focused with the regard to their household. There were also other descriptive items of socio-economic background, family, housing, religion etc., which related more to the household rather than to any individual members. The household as a unit was more a equal basis of sampling for obtaining the information with relation to the characteristics of the household such as size of the population income and family assets etc. It is also the most elementary unit of the society than any other unit.



$$\begin{aligned}
 & 1 \frac{113}{300} + 1 \frac{63}{100} = 170 \\
 & 1 \frac{121}{100} + 1 \frac{75}{100} = 296 \\
 & 1 \frac{13}{98} + 1 \frac{75}{100} = 296 \\
 & 2 \text{ items} + 2 \text{ items} = 296
 \end{aligned}$$


$$\begin{array}{r}
 170 \\
 138 \\
 \hline
 308
 \end{array}$$

4.2.1.1

In any community the structure and composition of a household is important in determining the behaviour pattern of a household and as such it is worthwhile to look into it. In the context of this study a household is defined as a group of members who live together and usually under a common roof, spend from a common pool of resources or income and normally take their food from a common kitchen or hearth.

Selection of the Sample

Initially list of householders were prepared alphabetically and according to the first name of the head of the household for drawing the sample. With the help of random tables nearly 50 per cent of the householders were selected from the list. This method of drawing the sample ensured that every household has a probability of selection. On few occasions at the time of data collection, proposed members from the random sampling list were not available or out of the station. Due to their non-availability of some householders, the researcher had to take the next number. It is presumed that the large size of the sample would give a fair representation. The total sample selected from Rangamati, Khagrachari, the urban areas had 113



and 63 householders while Karalyachari and Kamalchari had 63 and 75 householders respectively from the villages. Thus 50% of the total Chakma heads of households are represented in the study. It was felt that the large size of sample would give a fair representation of all the aspects coming under the impact of change. As the households were selected in a random basis none of the cross section of the people were excluded from the sample.

#### Sample Size

With a view to probe into the problem a sample of 314 households were undertaken. In the town area service holders, businessmen and other professionals were represented in the sample. At Rangamati town out of 300 enlisted households 113 were taken as a sample representing 37.60 per cent. In Khagrachari town and sub-urban area 150 households were listed out of which 63 were taken representing 42 per cent. While in Kamalchari village 135 households were listed and the sample was taken 75 households bearing 55.56 per cent. In Karalyachari village out of 98 households 63 were taken as sample which represented 64.28 per cent. It is presumed that the size of the sample would give us a fair representation.

Since the study was based on household only, no separate study for male and female was dealt with. The head of the household or in his absence any member of the household who could supply information was selected for the study and interviewed individually with the aid of interview schedule. The variables are both dependent as well as independent according to their usefulness to different categories of analysis. Besides the independent variables such as age, sex, rural / urban, the sample has been considered for analysis in the light of variables as such :

- (1) Occupation in different categories of services.
- (2) Income-grouping - monthly income group and status group i.e., upper class, middle class and lower class
- (3) Education - to see academic qualifications
- (4) Family and marriage
- (5) Religion
- (6) Agriculture

#### Tools of Enquiry

Scientific social investigations recognise the use of methods which are essential in any research project. Interview and scheduled questionnaire were

considered as a propaia tools of inquiry because the respondents were native persons. Hence two complementary methods were therefore, used in the present investigation to collect data. A comprehensive structured questionnaire with some open ended questions were therefore, prepared. Along with it interviews were also used to elicit the qualitative responses and clarification of some of the responses.

#### Justification of the Tools

In any study dealing with human sample one is very unlikely to get a cent percent response. Some people for personal reasons consider research as an incursion into their private life. So understandably, a very few people refused to answer. Alternate instruments, therefore, were chosen.

To obtain quantitative as well as qualitative data from the respondents a structured questionnaire was formulated in simple English, and translated into Bengali so that the respondents could easily understand the meaning and avoid confusion in understanding.

The questionnaire covered various parameters, besides the basic bi-data, a picture of total life

style of an individual was expected to emerge in the process of the investigation.

The interview' guide had a framework of questions and was essentially used to supplement the questionnaire. It encouraged the respondents to give their candid opinions on a variety of topics relevant to the data collection.

It was hoped that with the continuous contact between the researcher and respondents a meaningful rapport would be built up.

#### Pilot Survey

After selection of study area the preliminary questionnaire was pretested as a pilot survey among 50 households. During this pilot survey it was realized that the preliminary interview schedule was inadequate to yield all required information. Therefore, the questionnaire was modified considerably with the inclusion of several pertinent questions.

#### The questionnaire

The quantitative information was collected with the help of a structured questionnaire schedule. While framing the questionnaire the following points were kept in mind.

(1) The questionnaire were framed in simple language so that the respondents could easily understand the meaning. Care was taken to avoid ambiguous questions.

(2) The questionnaire were structured, so that the respondents could respond easily.

(3) Respondents were given assurance that the information supplied by them would be treated as strictly confidential and would be used for the purpose of research only.

The questionnaire has been divided into the following heads :

- (a) Socio-economic background
- (b) Residence
- (c) Religion
- (d) Marriage
- (e) Language
- (f) Drink and food habits
- (g) Pattern of land holding
- (h) Agriculture
- (i) Education
- (j) Arts, crafts and dress
- (k) Leisure and recreation

- (1) Migration due to Kaptai dam and changes of outlook and awareness.

#### Reliability and validity of the questionnaire

No social researcher is certain of obtaining cent per cent accurate results. Problems of validity are common to all researchers, especially those which deal with personal views and attitudes of the people towards the questions relating to social stigmas.

However, as the researcher belonged to the same community, there was no language barrier and other communication gap with the respondents and hence could substantiate the views on the basis of empirical evidences. Thus the data collected may be said to be authentic and reliable.

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#### Interview Schedule

In order to obtain qualitative data, the technique of personal interview to aid the questionnaire was used. Before starting the survey it was felt necessary to take written permission from the local administration in order to avoid any sort of harassment due to political disturbances in the area. After obtaining the permission from the concerned authorities the researcher recruited two graduate high school Chakma teachers to aid in the gathering of primary data



about the area where the studies were undertaken  
the researcher personally administered in inter-  
view schedule.

Initially, the respondents were given a  
brief summary of the purpose of the study, its aims  
and objectives. Then interview scheduled, the  
technique of personal interview was used in order  
to get qualitative and quantitative data. The  
respondents were interviewed in their respective  
places. A major difficulty encountered in the  
carrying out of the interview was the time at which  
the various household heads were to be visited at  
home. It was hard to find people in their dwellings  
during the day because at that time they would be  
working. On many occasions therefore, they were  
interviewed at home in the evenings. However, the  
interview was conducted in a congenial atmosphere and  
at leisure time.

As said earlier that there was considerable  
political trouble in the district. A few interviewees  
were, therefore, reluctant to face the interview and  
felt it to be a waste of time, showed disgust and/or  
suspicion. But when the nature of the work was  
explained stating that it was purely academic and  
also the importance of such study, they readily

add  
sentence

cooperated. While interviewing local language was mainly used. Many a time the conversations between the researcher and the respondents used to be frank with an air of confidence and a sort of 'we feeling'.

The educated respondents in the town area were supplied with the scheduled questionnaire and were requested while answering to be candid without revealing their identities so that a sense of objectivity could be maintained. They were assured of their anonymity. A month's time was given to them to fill in the questionnaire at home in their leisure time. The reason of giving them such a long time was that Rangamati town is 60 miles away from Khagrachari in the upper reaches of Chengi valley and hence it was difficult to communicate with two places in a short time. However, after that period the questionnaires were collected. If any questions were left unfilled they were requested to give reasons for these blanks. For example, many respondents did not fill the questions viz., (a) Are you satisfied with the Government policies (b) Do you think the present direction of development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts will change the lot of tribal people? Their answer was that the questions were related to politics so they left them blank. But they discussed vis-a-vis about the questions in the interview and expressed their opinions.

### Rapport, Reactions and Responses

During the time of interview the researcher and the respondents were in contact for sometime. Thus a meaningful rapport was established and mutual good feelings, co-operation and trust were developed. The respondents listened to the questions very patiently with all eagerness. Without any hesitation, with much thought the respondents replied very freely and frankly. Therefore, the response of the questionnaire was very satisfactory. Th 70-73

The main survey was conducted for five months during December 1983 to April 1984. The researcher felt necessary to go to the field for three times till completion of field survey.

The first trip was for the pilot survey.

The second trip was undertaken for collection of data through scheduled questionnaire and interview.

The third trip was for collection of demographic data, census data and secondary materials.

### Data Analysis

The data collected in the schedule were tabulated and tables prepared for each item of the interview schedule. Moreover, to analyse the facts

into details, the tables were prepared for each item of the interview schedule. With a view to analyse the facts in detail, the tables were further processed according to different variables. The averages in the tables have been calculated on the relevant totals.

#### Limitation of the Study

1) The data collected in this study were based on information supplied by the respondents to the scheduled questionnaire.

2) The survey covered with four project areas representing the Chakma population from both submerged and non-submerged areas. However, Chakmas who have migrated to the plains however small their number might be, should have been included in the survey in order to get a total picture of change.

The primary aim of the study is to assess the change in the Chakma society in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and to focus the attention on the aspects of change. It is expected that the study will be a contribution to sociological as well as Anthropological research in the Hill Tracts and will give a base for further research.

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## Chapter III

The chakmas and their Socie

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### CHAPTER III

#### THE CHAKMAS AND THEIR SOCIETY

Origin of the Chakmas - Internal Structure-  
Appearance

A Socio-Economic Profile - Life Style

Education - Parental Education

Occupation of Respondents' father and Respondent

Income

Marital Status

Family Size of the Respondent

Assets

Residence

Language

Food and Drink

Arts, Crafts and Dress

The Impact of Hydro-Electric Project on  
Occupation

Leisure and Recreation

Leisure Time Activities of the Chakmas

Reading Newspapers

Listening to the Radio

The Significance of Leisure time Activities



## CHAPTER III

THE CHAKMAS AND THEIR  
SOCIETY

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The Chakmas are one of the important tribes in Indian sub-continent. They are mostly found in the Chittagong Hill Tracts of Bangladesh, Tripura State, Mizoram, Arunachal Pradesh and West Bengal in India and Arakan in Burma. Of all their present habitats, they are predominant in number in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the largest district of Bangladesh. The Chakmas, a Lohitic tribe, are known as Tsakma, Tsak or Thek by the Burmese and Thi-Thik by the Kukis. Captain Lewin groups them with the Khyongtha or tribes who live along the river courses as distinguished from the Tounghtha, whose settlements are confined to the hills.

Origin of the Chakmas

The traditions regarding the origin of the Chakmas are conflicting and allege (1) that they originally came from the Malaya peninsula,

(2) that their ancestors were Chauv-Bansi Kshatriyas of Champaknagar (Risley, 1981 : 168).

According to the Agartara (Agar meaning written and tara meaning religion or faith) the oldest treatise of the Chakmas, they originally came from Champaknagar. Historians and Archaeologists dispute the claim regarding the location of Champaknagar whether it is in Bihar or Khmer (Campahea) of this ancient settlement (Chib, 1984 : 247).

A short history of the Chakma Raj family written by 45th Chakma Raja Bhuban Mohan Roy reveals that long ago there lived at the foot of the Himalays, a Kshatriya King named Shakya, who had his capital at Kalapnagar. He was succeeded by his son Sudhanya. The king had three sons, the eldest one became an ascetic, another a Buddhist Bhikshu but the third son Langaldhan became the king. After Langaldhan his son, Kshudrajit became King. Kshudrajit's son and successor, King Samudrajit turned a Buddhist Bhikshu and his dynasty became extinct.

Shymlal, the Minister of Samudrajit who also belonged to the same family left Kalapnagar and founded a new Kingdom on the south eastern border of Himalayas. King Shymlal was succeeded by his son Chamoakali, who

founded a new city on the eastern bank of the Irawadi and named it Champaknagar after him. (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 33). Some years later, Sambuddha became the King who had two sons - Bijoygiri and Samargiri. When Bijoygiri was away on a campaign of conquest in the east, he received the news of his father's death and that his younger brother usurped the throne and prepared to resist by force his return. On hearing this Bijoygiri decided not to return and settled down in the hilly regions he had conquered. The Chakmas are said to be descendants of Bijoygiri (Saigal, 1978 : 108 ).

According to the ancient history of Burma, there were five different groups of people in ancient Burma, viz., Burmese, Tailong, Keren, Biu and Chak. The Chaka lived in Champaknagar, a city created in the confluence of Irawadi and its tributary Champa in the northern side of Burma. Still a lineage of Chaks are living in Campochea and Vietnam. The name of Sarin Chak (Sak) former Foreign Minister of South Vietnam can be cited as an amazing example (Choudhary, 1980 : 2). In course of time, it is believed that the word, "chak" turned into the name of "Chakma".

The people of Chittagong called the Chakmas as "Chamus". Here, it can be illustrated that in the

13th century Mongolians entered the Valley of Brahmaputra from its upper end in the angle between China and upper Burma. About 1228 A.D. a tribe of Man (man) Shans called Ahom pressed northwards by the Burmese crossed from the Irawadi Basin into the upper valley of the Brahmaputra and occupied the bank of that river near Sadiya. Possessing a superior vigour and some civilization apparently of the Burmese Buddhist kind, they extended their rule gradually down the valley. The tribe seems to be divided into three sub-tribes namely, 'Chamua' or the descendants of the chiefs and nobles; Kelua, the bulk of the people; and Melua, the menials who were probably aliens and slaves (Waddell, 1975 : 10, 19). Perhaps, a great number of 'Chamua' sub-tribe remained in Upper Burma. The 'Chamua' stayed in the same place where Champaknagar was situated. Captain Lewin opined that the Chakmas were Mughals. It is based on the fact that many of the Chakma kings had Muslim names. This is no longer believed as it is well known that most Arakanese Kings kept Muslim names a few centuries ago.

Recently, L.G. Loeffler has put forward a theory that the Sak tribe, a small tribe living on the borders of the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the Arakanese descended from the same people as the Chakmas. From a linguistic study of the Sak language he concluded

that they are related to the Kedu of upper Burma and to the Lai of Manipur. He asserted that during the 15th to 17th Century the main group of the Sak population appear to have adopted Bengali culture and language and became Chakmas in the modern sense of the term (Saigal, 1978 : 108).

There is no doubt that the Khakmas belong to 'Mongoloid' group who have physical resemblance with the people of Thailand, Vietnam and Cambochea. It is, perhaps, due to that reason, Dr. Choudhury pointed out that the Chakmas might have originated from the Chak or Sak,

From the histories of Arakan (Arakan History : Daggawadi - Aradafung) it is known that the Chakmas before migrating to Bangladesh were in Arakan where they had a kingdom of their own. In Burmese history, "Chuijang Kyatha", it is mentioned that Burma was divided into three parts one of which was under the Chakma King (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 33). Unable to withstand the severe repression of the Arakanese King and finding no other way the Chakma King fled the country with his people and took refuge in the hands of Jalaluddin Mohammed Shah, the then Sultan of Gour in 1418. They first settled themselves on the plains around Cox's Bazar in the south of Chittagong and in course of time moved to the north and established their present homes in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

### Internal Structure

The Chakmas are divided into three sub-tribes - Chakma, Doingnak and Tanchangya. The Doingnaks are believed to have broken off from the present tribe about hundred years ago, when Juan Baksh Khan was Chief. He ordered them to intermarry with the other tribes. This innovation was violently disapproved of and many Doingnaks, abandoned their homes on the Karnafuli river and fled to Arakan. Of late some of them have returned and settled in the hills of the Cox's Bazar sub-Division (Risley, 1931 : 169). The Doingnak spoke an Arakanese dialect different from the language which is spoken by the Chakmas. The Tanchangya sub-tribe are said to have crossed Arakan and came to the Chittagong Hill Tracts in 1819 when Dharm Baksha Khan was chief. A number of them, however, soon returned to Arakan because of the chief's refusal to recognise the election of their leader Phapru, to the headship of the sub-tribe. About 70 years ago the elders of the Tanchangya sub-tribe still spoke Arakanese, while the younger generation were following the example of the Chakmas.

The Chakmas are divided into a large number of clans (Gosthis). The gosthi is distinctly hereditary and membership is transmitted only through the male

line. The women change their name after marriage. In addition to the clans there is a territorial grouping known as Sept (Goza). A Goza may include persons of various clans or gosthis. Marriage within the goza is allowed (endogamy) but not in the same gosthi (exogamy). Risley observed that many of the septs are of the same type as those found among the Limbus and Tibetans. The names recorded had some curious adventure or personal peculiarity of the supposed ancestor of the Sept. Among the Chakmas, as perhaps among the Greeks and Romans in the beginning of their history the Sept is the unit of the tribal organisation for certain public purpose (Risley, 1981 : 170). The name of the Septs of the Chakmas are as follows:

TABLE No. 1 :: The name of Septs of Chakmas : Chakma, Tsakma, Tsak, Thek (Burma)

-----	
Sub-Tribes	Sept
-----	
1. Chakma	Amu
2. Tanchangya	Banu, named after rivers
3. Doingnak*	Babara
	Earuwa
	Batalya, a chisel
	Boga
	Borsege

contd...

Table No. 3.1 : contd.

Sub-Tribes	Sept
Sept of the Chakma Sub-Tribe	Bung
	Bunza
	Darjea
	Dawin
	Jhaona,
	Dhurja, the Wearer of Bhimraj feathers
	Ichasoocha, the eater of rotten shrimos
	Kala, a plaintain tree
	Kengragati, the giver of the big crab
	Khambe
	Khionge
	Kura, named after rivers
	Kurjya
	Kutna
	Larma
	Leba
	Laskara
	Mulina, named after rivers
	Molina-Gege

Contd...



Table No. 3.1 : contd.

Sub-tribes	Sept
Sept of the Chakma sub-tribe (contd.)	Phaksa
	Phe-dang sirri
	Phedungsa
	Phema
	Pirabanga, who broke the stool
	Poa
	Poma
	Rangyacelanya, the lover of shells or mother of pearl
	Ranyin
	Sadonga
	Sege
	Sekowa
	Shoalyia, the jester
	Theya
	Toinya
	Uksarri
	Wargga, name of the river
Sept of the Tanchangya sub-tribe	Aruyai, the man as thin as a skeleton
	Badal, a chisel
	Bangal, descended from a Bengali father

contd

Table No. 3.1 : contd.

Sub-Tribes	Sept
Sept of the	Bhumar, he of high back ribs
Tanchangya	Bola, he whose family was
sub-tribe	numerous as the wasps
(contd.)	Danya
	Fariansa, he who excelled
	in wickedness
	Uochalya, the strongman
	Icha, he who was too fond of
	shrimps
	Kachai, they who built their
	houses in a row
	Karna
	Lamacha
	Lulong, the devil
	Millong
	Mongla
	Mo-u
	Ongya
	Puma

Source : Risley, 1981 : 32-33)

\* Doingnak sub-tribes list of sept was not found.

From the above analysis we can say that the 'totemic system' which is based on clan is also found in the Chkma society.

Dr. Dulal Choudhary divided the Chakmas into five categories, namely :

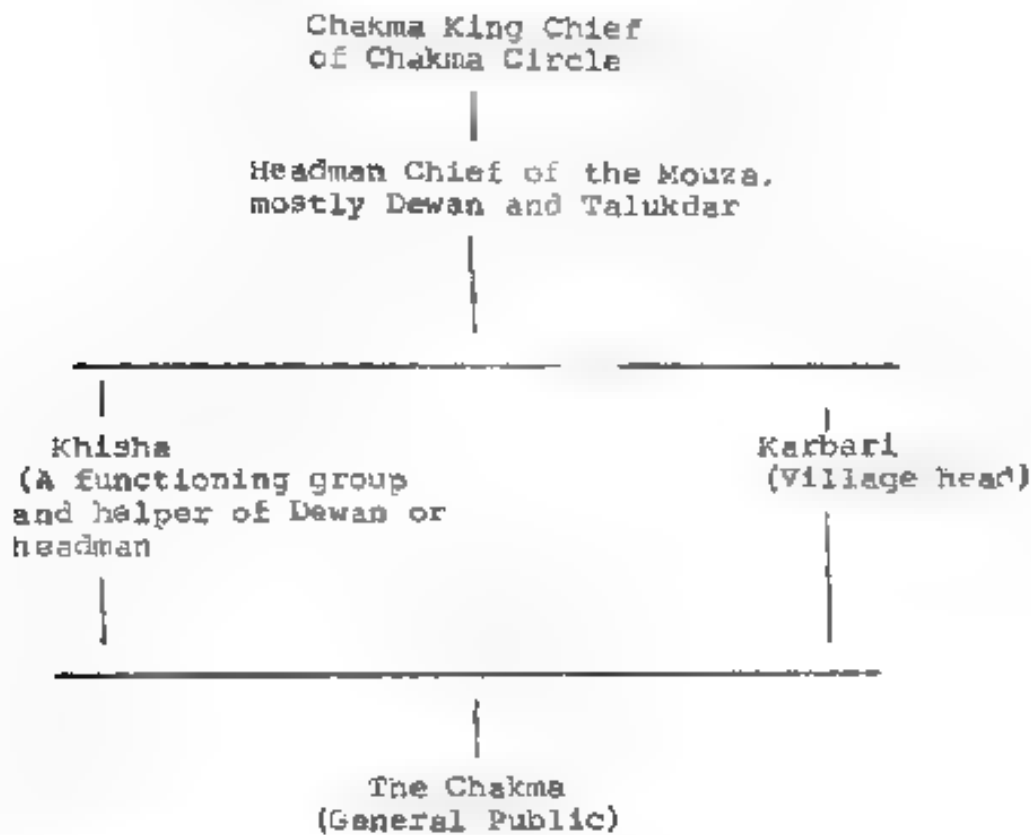
- (1) Monk (Bikshu)
- (2) Raules
- (3) Ojha
- (4) Genkhuli
- (5) The Chakma

TABLE NO.3.2 :: The Religious and Organizational Structure

Monk	or Bhikshu, Orthodox Religious
Raules	or Rowli, Non-Orthodox Village Priest
Ojha	controls the evil spirit and living organism by reciting mystic words and uttering charms and incantations, village quacks
Genkhuli	bards, a sort of minstrels, who sing on festival occasions
The General Chakmas	: Buddhist as well as Animists

contd...

Old Administrative Structure



Appearance

The Chakma is of medium structure and thick set build with fair complexion and a cheerful, honest looking face. Physically he is a finer specimen of manhood. Generally his independence will prevent him from working as a menial for others, but he works exceedingly hard to further his own interests. He possesses a retentive memory, grasps details quickly and appreciates the advantage that can be secured by industry. As a tribe they are stolid, argumentative

and stubborn but on the whole truthful. (District Gazetteer, Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1975 : 44).

### A Socio-Economic Profile

We begin with the description of the economy of the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts in order to discern clearly the under currents of changes and adjustments of the people for their survival. In 1760 the East India Company took over the area. Its resources then were reported to be timber, elephants, honey and cotton. The people were living in a pre-market society; there was no market place, no road communication and hardly any currency. (Islam, p.27). The district is covered with deep forest, there was high mortality rate and frequent raids by the tribals from the adjacent areas hence the absolute population was low and stationary estimated to be around 1,00,000 only. The slash and burn cultivation was the result of geographic determinism which in turn caused low population density. Farming practices were lackadaisical, cropping was based on extensive land use and productivity was low. Since agriculture was not geared to surplus, production under-exploitation of productive resources was common. The insurance against crop failure is extremely important but facilities are lacking in this tribal area. However, it was reported that crop failure

was a rare phenomenon and if it ever happened it never could jeopardize their normal life. At the time of sowing several crops were mixed together in the same field so that if one of the crop failed others at least grew well.

Many scholars explained the state of underdevelopment of the region as an ante-diluvian stage, or ascribed the poverty of the people simply due to laziness. But this is too simplistic an explanation and does not come to grips with the real and substantive issues. Likewise application of orthodox grossomodo to the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts fails to reveal the inner characteristics of the economy. The non-monetized semi-feudal peasant society of the region does not resemble the asiatic mode of production of Marx nor could the colonization of the region set in the process of capitalist development. Similarly the neo-Marxist explanation of underdevelopment of Ia'gunder Prank is not applicable as the centre-periphery relationship did not materialize to lead "to development where there was poverty and underdevelopment where there was wealth." (Rahman, 1982:19).

### Life style

The people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts have their own culture and tradition through which they are

familiar to others. They project their own social norms and values, by these factors. By nature individuals are sensitive towards any major changes in their way of life. Nevertheless, some changes occurred which influenced the life style of individuals. Here we shall discuss some main features which influenced the life style of the Chakmas.

(a) Education, Occupation or employment, Marital Status and Parental background.

(b) Residence, language, drink and food.

(c) Arts, Crafts and Dress

(d) Leisure time activities

In any empirical study the socio-economic background is an important factor, which helps one to understand the society. In actuality, parameters such as age and sex, education, occupation and income, marital status and family size throw light on the life style of the respondents.

Significant variables like age, and sex were studied in order to know the respondents' attitude, experience, mental maturity and comprehension of the objects of the external world. Hence, it was decided to analyse the respondents' age and sex before discussing other variables.

In our earlier discussion we pointed out that the sample respondents were chosen from rural and urban areas. Also for comparative purpose areas which were submerged due to the construction of Kaptai dam as well as non-submerged areas were included in the sample. The purpose was to ascertain whether forced migration produced more changes in the life style than the non-displaced people. The sample was confined mainly to the male members who were the heads of the households. Therefore, the number of female members represented in the sample are meagre. There were 314 respondents. Of them 176 were from submerged areas and 138 from non-submerged area. The reason for such unequal number in selecting the respondents was due to :

(a) Rangamati, being the old district town under submerged area, a large number of service holders and other professionals were found. They were more in number than that of Khagrachari town. This was the reason for more respondents included in the sample from Rangamati.

(b) Kamalchari is a big village and to cover up at least 50 per cent of the total household, the number of respondents in this village is more.



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TABLE No. 3.3 : Age group of the Respondents

Age in years	Ranga-mati	Karalya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal chari	Total
20 - 30	60 (53.09)	29 (46.03)	20 (31.74)	27 (36.00)	136 (43.31)
31 - 40	26 (23.30)	16 (25.39)	17 (26.98)	27 (36.00)	86 (27.38)
41 - 50	22 (19.46)	5 (7.93)	16 (25.39)	12 (16.00)	55 (17.52)
51 and above	5 (4.42)	13 (20.63)	10 (15.87)	9 (12.00)	37 (11.78)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

The above table shows that greater number of respondents belonged to 20-30 years age group - totaled to 136 or 43.31% of the total universe. Next major group belonged to 31-40 years and the total comes to 86 or 27.38% followed by the group belonged to 41-50 years and the total was 55 or 17.52%. The minimum number of respondents belonged to the age group of 51 and above and the total comes to 37 or 11.78%. The reason for finding such age distribution of respondents is due to the pattern of random sampling. In the sample it was found that maximum respondents came from the age

group within 40 years. In Mangamati town nearly 53% belonged to the age group of 20 to 30 years while Karalyachari nearly 46% of the respondents were in the same age group. The forced migrant respondents are in majority in the lesser age group.

### Education

In a democratic society education is open to everyone irrespective of any discrimination, economic or social and all are privileged alike to share the advantages. This is often subject to a number of limitations when we look at a tribal area.

Tribal society's response to education depends not so much upon the enthusiasm with which it is implemented by the government or the educational agencies but upon the society's own attitude. It depends on the capacity of the people to cope up with the economic losses which it demands on the part of the individual families and the values attached to education and society.

While education is open for all, its actual benefits are taken by only a selected group as it happens in advanced societies. Economically better off people can afford to educate their children. It cannot be forgotten that if we examine the working of

education in a society it is often found that besides the economically rich, the poor may share an amount of education despite their repressive poverty, if the government adopts correct steps in implementation of educational policy. It can thus be established that education is always more in the higher economic group, or in the rich classes of society, since the economic factor usually operates as a major lever in education.

We treat education as a vital component of the economic development. It is important because it imparts knowledge and skill to the individual and is functional in providing employment. Behere further elaborates that "education has a definite role in modernising the community by changing their psycho-cultural habit pattern." (Behere, 1974 : 119). In many developing countries escape from poverty for a family is essentially linked with education of their offsprings which brings forth better job opportunities with high income.

Formal education in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is a recent phenomenon. The literacy of the Chakmas as such could not be ascertained because no separate survey for each tribe has so far been undertaken. It is to be noted that among the tribes the Chakmas are

the most highly educated in the district. But it is worth noting that most of the highly educated persons in the district are non-tribal people from the plains. The literacy rate in the district, though not upto the national level but it is found to be increasing. The 1961 statistics reveal the literacy rate to have been 12.79 per cent whereas the 1974 census puts it at 13.2 per cent compared to 22 per cent for the country as a whole.

Table 3.4 shows that the number of literates has improved to 27 per cent in 1981 in Chittagong Hill Tracts as against 28% of the national literacy rate. This improvement of literacy since 1961 till to-date is more than double. It is to be mentioned here that due to change of modern outlook the people are pursuing education day by day. The percentage of literates would have been more ~ "50,000 immigrant families (Indian Express, Bombay, May 6, 1985 : 8), who were rehabilitated from the plainsland" mostly illiterate in different settlement zones in the district till middle of 1984 were not taken into account.

It is seen that population had increased in the district since 1961 in an alarming rate compared to early years (1872 to 1961). The reason for such increase may be attributed to an increase in birth rate,

1

Dear Sir,  
 I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 10th inst. in relation to the above matter.  
 I am sorry to hear that you are not satisfied with the result of the examination.  
 I have no objection to your making such use of the facts as you may think proper.  
 Very respectfully,  
 J. H. [Signature]

TABLE 3.4 :: Literacy rate in the Chittagong Hill  
Tracts (1872 - 1981,

Year	Area per sq. mile	Population	Literacy rate
1872	6796	63,045	Not known
1901	5138*	1,24,760	4.4%
1939 1941	5138	2,47,059	10.5%
1961	5138	3,85,092	12.79%
1979	5084	5,08,199	18.02%
1981	5089	7,46,026	27%

Source : Sugata Chakma, Tribal Cultural Institute,  
Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

\* The Vipam Range area was given to South Lushai Hill  
District in 1893.

(Note : Definition of Literacy : The 1974 Census  
defines literacy as the ability to both  
read and write in any language. In 1981,  
Census a person has been treated as literate  
if he / she can write a letter in any language.  
The definition of literacy used in 1981 is  
much stricter as compared to earlier  
definition). (Bangladesh Population Census,  
1981, Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics,  
August 1983).

[illegible]



decrease in death rate or difference of im-migration and out-migration. The primary cause for population increase is due to migration. As stated earlier that many non-tribals have been settled in the district permanently. These people are mostly illiterates. This factor is responsible for the low literacy rate of the area.

The history of education in the district commenced with the foundation of a Boarding School at Chandraghona in October, 1862. Elementary education was imparted in this school. From Table 3.5, it is seen that in the year 1892-93 the number of schools of all categories were 36 with 661 students. The first district college was established in Kengamati in 1965 and two other colleges were established in 1976-77. There are at present 999 educational institutions (including all categories) with 85,915 students in the district.

With the establishment of different educational institutions in the district the literacy rate of the Chakmas is also increasing and at the same time the roll strength of the students is also improving. This is a notable change in the field of education among the Chakmas.

TABLE NO.3.5 : Number of Schools, Colleges

Schools and Colleges	1892-93		1901-02		1913-14		1920-21	
	Sch- ools	Stu- dents	Sch- ools	Stu- dents	Sch- ools	Stu- dents	Sch- ools	Stu- dents
No. of High English Schools	1	90	1	122	1	172	1	176
No. of Upper Primary Schools	3	79	3	152	14	192	15	364
No. of Lower Primary Schools	32	492	63	1101	108	1757	156	2626
No. of Middle English Schools	-	-	-	-	1	21	-	-
Colleges	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-

Note : Institutes of all categories upto 1974-77 were 999

Total Number of students : 85,915.

## and Students in the Chittagong Hill Tracts

1930-31		1947		1970		1958	1965	1976-77
Sch- ools	Stu- dents	Sch- ools	Stu- dents	Sch- ools	Stu- dents			
The number of both upper and lower Primary Schools were 156, Students : 3,134		At the end of the British Colonial Rule the number of schools (all categories) were 179.		At the end of the British Colonial Rule the number of Schools (all categories) were 179.		During Pakistan period the number schools in this region were above 700 at the later 1960s.		
						High School : 30	High School:	
						* - Govt. : 4	Govt. : 4	
						* - Non-Govt. : 26	Non-Govt. : 26	
						* - Students : 7197	Students : 7197	
						* - Jr. High : 47	Jr. High : 47	
						* - school	school	
						* - (Govt. : 27 &	(Govt. : 27 &	
						* - Non-Govt. 20)	Non-Govt. 20)	
						* - Students 4717	Students 4717	
						* - Primary schools	Primary schools	
						* - Govt. 833	Govt. 833	
						* - Non-Govt. : 31	Non-Govt. : 31	
						* - Students : 70,793	Students : 70,793	
						* - Colleges	Colleges : 2	
						* - : 1	: 1	
						* - Students	Students :	
						* - : Not known	: Not known	

Source : Sugata Chakma, Tribal Cultural Institute,  
Rangamati, Chittagong Hill Tracts.

\* Not known

Some important training institutes are also there in the District, which provides the facilities of technical and vocational training. These are :

- 1) Vocational and Training Institute (Government), Khagrachari.
- 2) Swedish - Bangladesh Technical Institute (Government), Kaptai.
- 3) Forestry Development and Training Centre, (Government), Kaptai.
- 4) Voluntary Organisation for orphans.

Except the Training Institute of Forest Development, other technical training Institutes are mainly organised by two separate government bodies, the Ministry of Education and the Ministry of Labour with little coordination. Moreover, Bangladesh Small Scale Industries Corporation (BSIC) also provides some facilities for vocational training at some urban centres in the district.

Tribal people or external agencies provide non-formal education to a limited extent. Since the facilities for education are urban based, large proportion of tribal people living scattered over the rural parts are not availing the facilities of the educational system.

TABLE 3.6 :: Literacy Rate of the respondents' Family

Name of the place	Total Household	Total Population	Literacy number	Percentage Literacy
Rangamati	113	654	310	47.70
Karalyachari	63	430	112	26.04
Khagrachari	63	409	115	37.84
Kamalchari	75	512	135	26.36
TOTAL :	314	2005	712	35.50

The majority of the primary schools in the Chittagong Hill Tracts were established between 1957 and 1971 whereas for Bangladesh as a whole more than half were established before 1947.

Respondents' family members have higher literacy rate compared to the average of the district. Our survey shows a considerably high percentage of literates. In table 3.6 it is found that if the total population is taken as the base, the literacy ratio was 35.50%. While from Table 3.7 it is seen that if the literacy percentage is based on population above 5 years of age, then it comes to 48.63%, which is quite impressive.

TABLE No. 3.7 : Level of Education of the Respondents' Family members

Name of the place	Upto 5 years of age		Illiterates		Primary School level		Secondary School level		High School level		TOTAL
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Rangamati	104	95	40	105	106	94	63	32	12	3	654
Karalyachari	59	55	94	110	52	38	16	4	2	-	430
Khagrachari	61	42	69	82	69	42	23	11	8	2	409
Kamalchari	65	60	112	140	59	43	19	10	4	1	512
TOTAL :	289	252	315	437	285	217	121	57	26	6	2025

Here percentage is 48.63.

However, the above table 3.6 reveals that in Rangamati alone the literacy was found to be 47.70%. It is the nerve centre of the district, people from different places come here for different purposes. The town and its vicinity were submerged by the dam so the people were forced to adopt new ways of life and work for their future. As a result they were taking education because that would provide employment for them and their children. Likewise, the people of Karalyachari village were also interested in education. This is one of the badly affected villages of submerged area, where the people were mostly poor. For a rural area like Karalyachari the literacy rate of 26.04% is considered to be on the higher side.

On the other hand, Khagrachari town and its sub-urban area people were not as educated as the people of Rangamati. The literacy rate here was found to be 37.84 per cent. A newly built district headquarter in the non-submerged area, the town is becoming an important place for education and other purposes. It was observed that the cause of less literacy here as compared to Rangamati was that the people were not affected by the dam and uprooted. They still depend on their landed property for their livelihood. Some people did not feel the necessity of imparting education to their children as yet.

Kamalchari is one of the affluent villages near Khagrachari. It is also not much advanced as compared to Karalyachari village. The percentage of literacy was found to be 26.36 only. However, a trend for modern education was observed among the people of both the areas. It was observed that the enrolment at the primary school is high but the drop out is also very high so that few students enter the secondary level and fewer still go for college education. Like the rest of the rural Bangladesh the schools are co-educational but the girls show comparatively low level of enrolment and a high level of drop out.

TABLE No. 3.8 :: Distribution of Literates among  
the Respondents

Class	Literacy number	Percentage
I to V	502	79.50
VI to X	178	28.00
X and above	32	4.49
TOTAL :	712	94.94
= = = = =		



The pattern described before is clearly borne out. From the above table it is seen that 4.49 per cent reached the college level after the Secondary School Certificate Examination.

The people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts live under a harsh economy. They have to work very hard to get a bare subsistence. Children from their early age are burdened with a number of economic duties and obligations and they can hardly be spared for school. This is the major problem in education in this area. In fact at the school going age a child becomes a participant in the economic responsibilities of its family. Around the age of seven or eight, he has to look after small babies; by nine or tenth a boy is supposed to graze the cattle, to pick up thorns away from the fields etc., and at the same age a girl is expected to take part in minor domestic duties like fetching water; a little later she may take to cooking and cleaning the house. These form the part of their traditional training and every tribal boy and girl in the rural areas have to adapt themselves to it.

In the age group of 14-17, like others a Chakma boy in the village assumes most of the responsibilities like working in the field and looking after the economic demands of the family. A girl of this age engages

herself more in the household activities and helping mother in home chores. It is also in this age group that most of them get married and begin to do wifely duties in their husbands' houses.

However, in economically better off families there is more possibility of its members taking higher education. The upper strata of society generally take advantage of education. This shows that economic condition is a major determinant of the peoples' participation in education. The Chakma society is no exception to this, a majority of the population have a poor economic condition which accounts for a lower percentage of education among them.

Whenever education is taken in the lower strata of society, it is inspired by the theory of personal return or gain. They are aware that education will give better dividends in the form of a job which gives regular monetary income. Once a member of the family gets regular income employment due to his educational qualifications, he realizes the importance of functional education and he sends the younger members of the household to school.

Unlike other tribals, the Chakmas are found to be interested in education. In Table 3.9 it is seen that 180 respondents (57.32%) are interested to send their children to school although 132 (32.48%) respondents

expected their children should help them in their economic pursuits, still they are interested to send them to school. It was also found that 32 (10.19%) respondents were not willing to send their children to school at all. The primary reason for not sending their children to school was that educational expenses outweighed all other reasons. In Mangamati most of the respondents are literates. They are working in various government organisations, semi-government or autonomous bodies or engaged in other economic pursuits. Their main aim is to get their children educated. An office peon "wished to make his son an officer so that he need not carry out the orders of bosses." This ideal is bringing about new change in the thinking and outlook. That is why the people of Mangamati opined that their children should not be disturbed in studies. They do not desire any help from their children in household affairs at the time of imparting education. This evidently shows modernization. Female education is becoming popular in this area now-a-days.

In Table 3.10 it is seen that 248 respondents (78.99%) were found to be interested in female education. It was found that in Mangamati no one has denied the importance of female education. Here, three girls from different households were found serving in the government

TABLE No. 3.9 :: Respondents' attitude Towards their children's education

Attitude	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamala- chari	Total
Should help in cultivation	-	19 (29.57)	3 (4.76)	11 (14.66)	32 (10.19)
Continue to attend school	64 (56.63)	31 (49.22)	43 (68.25)	42 (56.00)	180 (57.32)
Both	49 (43.36)	14 (22.22)	17 (26.98)	22 (29.33)	102 (32.48)
LOCAL :	13	63	63	75	314

TABLE No. 3.10 :: Respondents' Opinion regarding female education

Opinion	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamala- chari	Total
Support female education	113 (100.00)	38 (60.31)	48 (76.14)	49 (65.33)	248 (78.99)
Do not support	-	25 (39.68)	15 (23.80)	26 (34.66)	66 (21.01)
LOCAL :	113	63	63	75	314

offices and two worked as school teachers. The income which has been accruing from the service is an inspiration to many guardians of this area to send their children to school. A good response was also found in Karalyachari village in favour of female education. In this poor village many girls were sent to the primary school for education, because of the impact of the forced migration. The people of Khagrachari town and suburbs and Kamalchari village also give equal importance to female education. Thus the people of Chakma tribe have realised the importance and the need for female education.

It was found that during the Pakistan days an aggressive policy of establishing primary school was pursued which led to increase in education in the district. At the same time the practice of teaching the tribals in their mother tongue (for those who had a written language like the Chakmas) was dispensed with. The text books prescribed for the primary schools were in Bengali and knowledge of Bengali at this stage is very rare if not nil (Centre for Social Studies, 1978 : 60).

Table No. 3.11 shows the educated tribal persons in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. It was found that the Chakmas are well ahead of all the tribes in education. If we compare the number of educated persons of three major tribes viz., Chakma, Marma and Tripura, we find

TABLE NO.3.11 11 Number of Educated Persons in the Chittagong

S.No.	Name of the Tribe	M.Ds.	M.As.	M.Sos.	M.Ags.	M.Com.	Total Masters degree holders
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.	8.
1)	Chakma	5	63	13	1	3	85
2)	Marmar*	- Exact number under each category not known					14**
3)	Tripura	-	5	-	-	1	6
4)	Lushei	-	-	2	-	-	2
5)	Bon	-	-	-	-	-	-
6)	Chak	-	-	-	-	-	-
7)	Mro	-	-	-	-	-	-
8)	Rhomi	-	-	-	-	-	-

Source : Sugata Chakma, Tribal Cultural Institute, Rangamati Chittagong Hill Tracts (C.H.T.)

\* Here Marmar means all the residents of Bandarban (C.H.T.), Cox's Bazar and Patakhali of other districts e.g., Marmar, Mrogh, Rakhaia are included.

\*\* As per report of the Hill Tracts Buddhist Conference held at Bandarban during 1985.

Hill Tracts (Tribewise) prepared in April, 1985.

Total Grades	LL.Bs.	MBBS doctors	B.Sc. Engin- eering	B.Agr Engin- eering	Diploma Engin- eering	LMF doctors & B.D.S.
9	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.	15.
Approx. 230	4	27	19	3	Above 60	3 + 2
Approx. 50	2	7	11	4	Not known	-
19	-	1	1	-	-	-
Not known	-	-	-	-	-	-
2	-	-	-	-	-	-
1	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-
-	-	-	-	-	-	-

- (1) Tanchangyas are included among the Chakmas as they are treated as branch of the Chakmas
- (2) Riangs are taken as Tripura group
- (3) Among the Mro 3 have passed Intermediate and 3 have passed S.S.C.  
(Mr. Irachan Mro, was the first man, who passed Matriculation Examination in 1950).

that among the Chakmas 5 persons were awarded Ph.D. degree while there is none in the other tribes. As for the masters degree, 80 persons were found from amongst the Chakmas and 14 and 6 persons were found from the Marmas and Tripuras respectively. In respect of Graduates, 230 persons were found among the Chakmas, 50 persons from the Marmas and 19 persons from the Tripura communities. There are 4 LL.Bs. from the Marma tribes. In addition, 32 doctors including 3 L.M.F. (Diploma) and 2 Dental Surgeons were found among the Chakmas. While only 7 and 1 doctors were found from the Marma as well as Tripura Community respectively. A good number of Engineers (Degree and Diploma holders) were found among the Chakmas.

In Table 3.12 shows sexwise figures of higher educated people among the three tribes. It is found that higher education among females is very low. Out of all the tribals Chakmas seem to be way ahead of education. One can say that the displaced tribals who went and settled in urban areas, because their traditional occupations were lost took to education like the plains people.

Even though Chakma males showed acculturation and assimilation of the values of other people, their women still remained illiterates.



TABLE NO.3.12 : Sex-wise statement of higher education among Chakma, Marma, Tripura

Tribe	Ph.Ds.				M.As.				M.Sc.				M.Coms.				Total of Master Degree Males & Females	Gradu- ates		L.M.P. (Diploma) Engi- & D.S. neers				B.Sc. LL.Bs.			
	M		F		M		F		M		F		M		F			M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
Chakma	5	-	59	5	12	1	1	3	-	-	-	-	80	200	30	27	5	10	1	3	1	-	-	-			
Marma	-	-	10	4	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	14	-50-	-	5	2	11	-	2	-	-	-	-			
Tripura	-	-	5	1	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	6	17	2	1	-	1	-	-	-	-	-	-			
=====																											

Source : Sugata Chakma, Tribal Cultural Institute, Mangemati, Chittagong

Hill Tracts (C.H.T.)

M = Males, F = Females.

### Parental Education

In this study the parental education refers to the respondents father's education only, because most of the tribal females are illiterate. To ascertain whether there is any change among tribals, it is necessary to compare the educational level of the respondents with that of their parents. It was observed that the parents realised the importance of education and adopted modern trend to educate their children. They believed that more schooling a person gets, he will be better off economically by getting employment based on education. In this connection, Behere aptly said, "Self confidence, self respect, belief in science, feeling of acceptance and ideas of equality are the outcome of education. Changes from traditional behaviour to modern influence of family and community and extent of participation, contact with other communities, changes in religion and traditional practices are the psycho-cultural habit patterns are much improved and motivated by the level of education, which are the leading characteristics of further change." (Behere, 1974 : 48).

Table No. 3.13 shows that 62.42% of respondents' fathers in the survey area had no education and only 4.45% had secondary education. The percentage of literacy was 37.58%. It was also observed that the

TABLE No. 3.13 :: Education of the Respondents' Father

Level of Education	Rangamati	Karalya chari	Khagra-chari	Kameli-chari	Total
Illiterate	43 (38.35)	59 (93.65)	39 (61.90)	55 (73.33)	196 (62.42)
Primary	32 (28.31)	4 (6.34)	20 (31.74)	22 (29.33)	78 (24.84)
Under B.C.	21 (18.58)	-	3 (4.76)	2 (2.66)	26 (8.28)
B.C.	10 (8.84)	-	3 (4.76)	1 (1.33)	14 (4.45)
Graduate	-	-	-	-	-
Master's Degree	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

respondents in the higher age group had mostly illiterate fathers. On the otherhand the fathers of the younger respondents have received some education. Before the formation of Bangladesh, Rangamati was the only important town in the district. It was an attractive place to all the tribals. The Chakmas who were educated came over to this district headquarters for better livelihood. Subsequently they got settled down here. It was learnt that in late 1950's education upto Matriculation was enough to

let a good job. Therefore, the Chakmas did not desire to go for education after matriculation. Now the trend for education has been completely changed. It is observed that education on a mass scale has been introduced in recent years. It is also worth noticing that education of the respondents was found remarkably improved in comparison to father's education.

In these tribal areas it was found that facilities in schools are very poor. The schools have no wall maps, charts, black-boards, benches and tables. Even adequate water supply and provision for sanitary facilities are lacking. Not only this the teachers in many instances have no text books for their use and they are untrained and half of them are of non-tribal origin. This resulted in unsatisfactory working of the educational institutions. Moreover, the education is not imparted in their own mother tongue, thus alienation is increasing further.

Thus, the development of any group of people depends upon the nature of the educational system. Brodley coined that "In many countries schooling has been the prime co-ercive instruments of cultural modification and has proved to be a highly effective means of destroying self esteem, fostering new needs, creating dissatisfaction and generally disrupting traditional culture . . . But even more importantly schooling

conflicts with the basic education that children gain from participation in their own culture." (Brodley, 1975 : 142).

M. Q. Zaman, while discussing the educational system finds it true of the process (aiming at cultural modification) in the Chittagong Hill Tracts also. He describes that at the primary level children are thought that "our way" (the Bengali way) is good, and "their way" (the tribal way) is bad, and should be abandoned for more 'civilized' life (Zaman : 1985 : 5). The medium of instruction as in other areas in Bangladesh is Bengali. Tribal people who use their own language in their homes find it difficult to begin education with Bengali as medium of instruction. As a result very few tribals can pass the primary level. A recent study revealed that the percentage of students completing primary education in the district is the lowest in all Bangladesh (Madir, et. al. 1978). It means that the percentage of drop outs in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is the highest in the country. Bengali medium of instruction among other contribute to such failures.

As stated earlier, each tribe has its own distinct dialect. Two of these groups (Chakma, Marmas which together form the bulk of the tribal population) have their own script. Provision for the use of their

own language at least in the early years in school as Zaman (1985) suggested should both reduce drop outs and help to preserve their own cultural identity. He opined that "Bengali should continue as second language from second or third grade and competency in that would be gradually developed, so that it could serve as the medium of instruction after primary education.

Some of the questions that have been raised by Alimur Rahman (1992 : 85) for tribal education in the Hill Tracts are also pertinent to our study. They are :

"(a) Given the fact that tribal children go to the primary school only for one or two years, borne out by high drop out ratio, should not the curriculum be devised in such a way that the maximum literacy and numeracy is given to them within this short time?

(b) Since a large number of these children will ultimately form the rural community and will not migrate to the urban centres, should not the present education system be oriented to urban and modern sector job be dispensed with?

(c) Should not the high priority areas of instructions for these schools be worked out to fulfil the differing requirements of the people which will help them in practical life, e.g., agriculture, animal husbandry, poultry, farming, carpentry etc.?

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(d) What system of secondary and higher education can be devised which would be in conformity and in continuity, with the changed primary education system?

(e) How can the financial burden of teachers' training and children school education be reduced?

(f) Is it possible to structure the whole education system to provide equal opportunity to all segments of the tribal population."

Rahman also suggested to do something quickly to improve the education and create incentives and opportunities for the tribal population to get out of the morass of poverty and deprivation.

#### Occupation of respondents' Father

We shall deal here with the occupation of respondents' father. In Table 3.14, the occupation of the respondents' father is shown. It is found that agriculture was the main occupation (65.29%) of the respondents' fathers' jhumming assumes the second position i.e., 13.63% followed by 9.23% of the service holders, then 6.69% pensioners, 4.77% businessmen and 0.32% contractors. It is seen that jhum and agriculture are the predominant occupations of the respondents' fathers.



Table 3.14 :: Occupation of respondents' father

Type of Occupation	Rangamati	Karalyachari	Khagrachari	Kamai-chari	Total
Jhuming	6 (5.30)	23 (36.50)	2 (3.17)	12 (16.00)	43 (13.69)
Agriculture	50 (44.24)	40 (63.44)	53 (84.12)	62 (82.66)	205 (65.29)
Business	13 (11.50)	-	2 (3.17)	-	15 (4.77)
Service	24 (21.23)	-	4 (6.34)	1 (1.33)	29 (9.23)
Pensioner	19 (16.81)	-	2 (3.17)	-	21 (6.69)
Contractor	1 (0.88)	-	-	-	1 (0.32)
<b>Total</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

Even in Rangamati 6 (5.30%) respondents' fathers have been found practising Jhuming. Small scale business also is being practised by the respondents' fathers. This type of occupation was found only in Rangamati and Khagrachari 13 (11.50%) and 2 (3.17%) respectively. In Rangamati 24 (21.23%) are in service, 19 (16.81%) Pensioners. In Karyachari only Jhuming (36.50%)

and agriculture (63.49%) were the main occupations of respondents' fathers. It is notable even in urban area like Khagrachari 53 (84.12%) of the respondents' fathers were agriculturalists while 62 (82.66%) of the Kamalchari (village) were in agricultural occupation.

#### Occupation of the respondent

Occupation plays an important role for the life of the life style of the people. A person's attitude and behaviour, leisure time activities, assets he possesses are determined by one's occupation.

The economy of the people of the Chattagong Hill Tracts is fundamentally a subsistence economy. They produce to meet their own personal requirements. Besides agricultural activities they also practice non-agricultural activities to meet the needs of their daily needs. They build their own houses, make their own looms, weave their own dresses, make baskets and agricultural implements. Dying is generally done by indigenous methods. In the technique of basket making they show a surprising excellence. Cane work is only rarely found - bamboo form the bulk of the materials used. Boat making is also one of their principal occupations. They hallow out the trunk of a tree for their simple canoes, but are not acquainted

with the art of making composite canoes, which are not so useful for the hill streams.

An important feature of the tribal economy is the abundantly available forest resources, which comprises mostly of bamboo, wooden logs, timber, canes and sugrass. They make their houses entirely with the above resources. With these forest resources they excel in making kets, walking sticks, water pipes, smoking pipes and objects of decorative and artistic value.

In recent decades the development of commercial activities have lead to development of new sources of income. It is interesting to note that in the survey area some people were found to be engaged in more than one economic activities at a time. In some cases Agriculture has been replaced by other occupations. A great number of educated Chakma people work in government offices, while some are in teaching profession in different institutions. Others are engaged in the factories and a few work as contractors. Trade and business in the district are mostly in the hands of outsiders. However, the educated Chakmas migrate to urban areas in search of employment and are settling there. The respondents' occupation as seen in Table No. 3.15 shows that in urban areas majority of the respondents are employed in service.

A shift in <sup>the</sup> parent's  
view of the child's  
development is the  
basis for the case  
study.

TABLE NO.3.15 :: Occupation of the Respondents

Name of Occupation	Rangamati	Keraliya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamali-chari	Total
Agriculture	-	31 (44.20)	16 (45.39)	57 (76.00)	104 (33.12)
Horticulture	9 (7.96)	9 (14.28)	-	-	18 (5.73)
Jhuming	-	2 (3.17)	-	-	2 (0.64)
Business	15 (11.50)	3 (4.76)	4 (6.34)	-	20 (6.36)
Service	74 (65.48)	2 (3.17)	37 (58.73)	11 (14.66)	124 (39.44)
Contractor	6 (5.38)	-	3 (4.76)	-	9 (2.87)
Labourer	-	6 (9.52)	3 (4.76)	7 (9.33)	16 (5.09)
Fishing	11 (9.73)	10 (15.87)	-	-	21 (6.69)
Shop	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

In Rangamati 74 (65.48%) respondents were found in service.  
There is no scope for agriculture in this town though

some of the respondents have their own lands in their original native place. They gave these lands on lease to others for cultivation. In the vicinity of Rangamati town some respondents - 9 (7.96%) are engaged in horticulture. This has been introduced by the Government as an alternative occupation for the displaced persons after building of the Kaptai dam. Besides, 13 (11.50%) respondents were engaged in business and 6 (5.36%) worked as contractors. None of the respondents opened shops. All the shops in the bazar (Market) are run by Bangalee businessmen and traders from other districts of Bangladesh. Not a single hillman is found throughout the Hill Tracts running shops in the bazar. (Dewan, A.K., 1979 : 7). In Karalyachari village agriculture is possible only in the fringe land during the period when the lake water recedes. Two respondents were found practising jhumir, in this village, however, it was known that they did not depend on this cultivation exclusively because Jhumir gives low yield now-a-days. A negligible number of respondents were in service holders and businessmen. 6 (9.52%) respondents were landless labourers and 9 (14.28%) were practising horticulture. After creation of the Kaptai reservoir, fishing as an alternate occupation has been taken up by the people in the submerged area. In Rangamati 11 (9.73%) respondents and in Karalyachari village 10 (15.87%)

respondents took fishing as an alternative occupation. The reservoir has given a fillip to fishing and it was learnt that more people in the submerged area are taking fish catching as their alternate source of livelihood. Currently, there are about 3,000 registered fishermen on the reservoir. The respondents practising this occupation are negligible. It was observed that those who engaged in fishing are the tribal people, who were uprooted by the submergence of their land. They are extremely poor and live at a subsistence level. Their economic difficulties became more acute when the fish catch is very low because many unscrupulous non-local businessmen lend money to the local fishermen on the condition that they supply fish to the former when harvests are good at a very much lower rate than the existing market rate. Moreover, the commercial supply of raw fish is completely regulated and controlled by the non-locals, which has caused considerable indignation among the tribal people (Islam, S.A., 1981 : 1211-1221). Thus the condition of the fishermen is very poor. They cannot depend entirely on fishing only for their livelihood. Hence, they were found to be engaged in other activities as well.

In non-submerged area no respondents were found to be engaged in fishing, because there is no scope for fishing in the area. Khagrachari being the new district

headquarter many service holders have been posted in various departments. Here 37 (58.73%) respondents were engaged in service. In Kamalchari village, which is two miles down the Khagrachari town 11 respondents (14.66%) were in service.

Like other districts of Bangladesh most of the labour force in Chittagong Hill Tracts is engaged in agriculture. In our survey area majority of the respondents from rural areas are engaged in this occupation. According to 1974 census about 86% of the civilian labour force is engaged in this occupation in the district as against 77% at the national level. Involvement of labour force in various occupations in the study area is as follows: service holders 39.49 per cent Agriculture 33.12 per cent, business 7.03 per cent, fishing 6.69 per cent, horticulture 5.09 per cent, Jhuming (shifting) cultivation 3.64 per cent, contractors 2.87 per cent, day labourers 5.09 per cent.

From the above data it is evident that majority of respondents in urban area are in service in the different organizations and departments. This is due to the fact that majority of the respondents in the town area are engaged in professions and agriculture assumes the second position in the occupation criteria. It is also revealed that occupations of the respondents have change from those



of their fathers within one generation. In Rangamati the occupation of majority of respondents's fathers was agriculture. Now there is none in this occupation. Instead most of them are in service. In Karalyachari jhuming and agriculture were the two occupations of the respondents' father, which are replaced now by other occupations. In Khagrachari and Kamalchari also many alternative occupations have been accepted by the respondents. Thus a change in occupation is gradually taking place among Chakma society.

#### Income

Income is an important factor which determines the socio-economic status of an individual. It is correlated with occupation. That is why income is dependent on the nature of occupation.

In a peasant economy land is the basic factor of production and the main source of income. Therefore, land ownership pattern alone can reveal a good deal about the economy in terms of the level of income the power structure, access to other inputs and general welfare of the people.

In Table no.3.16 shows the size of agricultural land holding by the respondents. It can be seen from the table that out of 314 respondents 39 or 12.42 per cent

TABLE 3.16 : Area of land ownership of the respondents

Land in acres	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Landless	13 (11.50)	6 (9.52)	11 (17.46)	9 (12.00)	39 (12.42)
0.50 - 1	41 (36.28)	4 (6.34)	3 (4.76)	1 (1.33)	49 (15.60)
1.10 - 2	30 (26.54)	9 (14.28)	9 (14.28)	16 (21.33)	69 (20.38)
2.10 - 3	19 (16.81)	18 (28.57)	13 (20.63)	11 (14.66)	61 (19.43)
3.10 - 4	5 (4.42)	5 (7.93)	7 (11.11)	8 (10.66)	25 (7.96)
4.10 - 5	3 (2.65)	9 (14.28)	11 (17.46)	16 (21.33)	39 (12.42)
5 and above	2 (1.76)	12 (19.04)	9 (14.28)	14 (18.66)	37 (11.78)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

have no land. The size of the land ownership can give us an indication of the income of the household in the rural areas. Very few respondents had land holding of 5 acres and above. But in the town areas both in Rangamati and Khagrachari the respondents have alternate income.

TABLE No.3.12 :: Respondents' Annual Income

Income Range	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Below TK 300	-	3 (4.76)	2 (3.17)	5 (6.66)	10 (3.18)
301 - 800	-	4 (6.34)	4 (6.43)	3 (4.00)	11 (3.50)
801 - 1500	1 (0.88)	5 (7.93)	4 (6.43)	3 (4.00)	13 (4.14)
1501 - 3000	2 (1.76)	4 (6.34)	5 (7.93)	7 (9.33)	18 (5.73)
3001 - 5000	7 (6.19)	9 (14.28)	7 (11.11)	5 (6.66)	28 (8.91)
5001 - 7000	12 (10.61)	7 (11.11)	6 (9.52)	8 (10.66)	33 (10.50)
7001 - 8000	16 (14.15)	9 (14.28)	7 (11.11)	4 (5.33)	36 (11.46)
8001- 10,000	22 (19.46)	10 (15.87)	11 (17.46)	13 (17.33)	56 (17.83)
10001 - 12000	18 (15.92)	8 (12.69)	9 (14.28)	11 (14.66)	46 (14.64)
12001 - 15000	23 (20.35)	3 (4.76)	4 (6.34)	9 (12.00)	39 (12.42)
15001 - 20000	7 (6.19)	1 (1.59)	2 (3.17)	4 (5.33)	14 (4.45)
20001 - 30000	3 (2.65)	-	1 (1.59)	2 (2.66)	6 (1.91)
30000 and above	2 (1.76)	-	1 (1.59)	1 (1.33)	4 (1.27)
TOTAL	113	63	63	75	314

Thus income level of both the areas can not be ascertained with the size of land ownership. Income is the major indicator of socio-economic condition of the people. Income is generated not only by the extent of land holding, but also by the nature of other occupations. The elusiveness of equity in Bangladesh has been explained by H.W. Blair (1982 : 65) "when it comes to the analysis of the tribal society, income disparities are found to be significant." Tables No. 3.17 and 3.18 give the distribution of household by the respondents' annual income and distribution of households by income class respectively.

TABLE No.3.18 :: Income Range of the Respondents

Income class	Household in per cent
Upto TK 5,000	25.47
5,001 - 15,000	66.88
15,001 and above	7.64

1 Taka (TK = 100 paise (Bangladesh currency))

It is found that out of the 314 households only 25.47 per cent received an income less than TK 5,000. The middle income group with annual income ranging

between TK 5,001 - 15,000 was 66.87%. The top income group comprises of 7.64% of the total respondents. The income shown in the table proves that majority of the people in the sample are under poverty level. Only infinitesimally small number of respondents have higher income.

In an attempt to determine the income level of the respondents in both submerged and non-submerged areas through their occupation, it is noticed that the income in non-submerged area is higher than that of submerged area except Rangamati, being the district headquarters where various job opportunities exist. It is worth mentioning that level of education and occupation determine the status and the behaviour pattern of individuals (these are the important factors contributing to the socio-cultural change. These factors may bring about change of habits in regard to food, dress, recreation etc.

A majority of the respondents felt that their income is inadequate to meet their both ends. In Table no. 3.19 shows the respondents' feelings of adequacy of income.

It is found that only 61 (19.42%) out of a total 314 felt that they had adequate income, 230 respondents (73.24%) had inadequate income, 23 respondents did

TABLE No.3.19 : Distribution of household according  
to adequacy of income

Adequate or otherwise	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	34 (30.08)	5 (7.93)	13 (16.63)	9 (12.70)	61 (19.42)
No	67 (54.29)	55 (37.30)	48 (76.19)	61 (80.00)	230 (73.24)
Do not know	12 (10.61)	3 (4.76)	2 (3.17)	6 (8.00)	23 (7.33)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

not answer the question. On the whole financial hardships are faced by the respondents due to inadequacy of income. Consequently borrowing is resorted to by the respondents.

Table No. 3.20 shows the sources of financing household deficit. Buying from market by credit was resorted to by majority, followed by borrowing on interest and borrowing from friends and relatives. Sale of assets and sale or mortgage of articles was also resorted to in a situation of dire need. It is clearly seen that the operation of traditional money lenders in the village with all its accompanying exploitative

TABLE No.3.20 : Distribution of household according  
to sources of financing deficits

Sources	Ranga- mati	Karalya- cheri	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Borrow from Friends / relations	39 (34.51)	20 (31.74)	10 (15.87)	5 (12.00)	78 (24.84)
Loan from market by credit	47 (41.59)	7 (11.11)	22 (34.92)	12 (16.00)	88 (28.02)
Sale of assets	9 (7.96)	8 (12.69)	5 (7.93)	18 (24.00)	40 (12.74)
Mortgage of articles	6 (5.30)	12 (19.04)	8 (12.69)	14 (18.66)	40 (12.74)
Take loan on interest	12 (10.61)	16 (25.39)	18 (28.57)	22 (29.33)	68 (21.65)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

nature is found to be an important source of finance.

The reliance on friends and relations for loans in the absence of institutional credit is the outcome of the kinship loyalty in the rural areas like the rest of

Uttar Pradesh. A relationship was found to have been established between submerged and non-submerged rural area people in connection with borrowing loan for any deficit.

During rainy season (May and June) the submerged area people get a harvest of paddy from their fringe land which is a financially difficult time for non-submerged area people. These people borrow paddy from the submerged area people and return after the main harvest. Likewise submerged area people also borrow from their counterparts in times of need.

Present living conditions of the respondents is assessed in table 3.21. It shows that only 46 (14.64%) respondents claimed that they are better off than their parents, 103 (32.80%) became poorer and 165 (52.54%) respondents remained the same. We can thus say that the economic conditions of the Chakmas has remained stagnant or deteriorated with no appreciable change in economic position.

#### Marital status

Among the Hill Tracts people, marriage as an institution, is practically universal and meant for all adults and no marriage occurs before the age of puberty for girls. Girls usually marry between the ages of 15-20 years and boys between the ages of 20-25. An analysis of marriage data from 1961 and 1974 census shows that mean age at marriage for female is 18.4 years, while that of male is 23.4 years among the rural people of the district.



TABLE No. 3.21 :: Present living conditions of the  
Respondents

Living conditions	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Better	21 (18.58)	6 (9.52)	9 (14.28)	10 (13.33)	46 (14.65)
Poorer	13 (11.59)	32 (53.79)	24 (38.39)	34 (45.33)	103 (32.80)
Almost same	79 (69.91)	25 (39.68)	30 (47.61)	31 (41.33)	165 (52.54)
Ad : :	113	63	63	75	314

TABLE No.3.22 :: Age at marriage from Census data of  
1961 and 1974

Sex	Chittagong Hill Tracts Census 1961	Census 1974	Bangladesh 1974
Males	22.8	23.4	24.0
Females	17.5	18.4	18.9

Source : Census Reports 1961 and 1974.

It indicates that during the period 1961 and 1974, the age at marriage for both boys and girls has increased. Age at marriage for the district population appears to be higher for females but lower for males when compared with the corresponding national figures of 1974. The variation may be due to difference in structural phenomena between the two societies.

The marital status of population under study is presented in Table No. 3.23. It was found that 85.99% respondents were married. The unit of the survey was based on head of a person of a household, who was either married or remarried. Remarried persons were found only in two places. Out of the total of 314 respondents the number of this category was found 4.45% but in a single village in Karalyachari out of 53 respondents, 13 (24.63%) were remarried.

It is significant to note that there were no respondents who were either divorced or separated since the tribal society people marry again immediately.

#### Family size of the Respondents

Family is a basic unit in the social structure of a community. Its form and function depends upon the values which a society gives recognition. The social

TABLE NO.3.23 :: Marital Status of the Respondents

Marital Status	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Married	108 (95.57)	43 (68.25)	56 (89.88)	63 (84.10)	270 (85.99)
Unmarried	3 (2.66)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (13.33)	19 (6.05)
Widow	2 (1.76)	4 (6.34)	-	2 (2.66)	8 (2.54)
Widower	-	2 (3.17)	1 (1.59)	-	3 (0.96)
Divorced	-	-	-	-	-
Remarried	-	13 (20.63)	1 (1.59)	-	14 (4.45)
Separated	-	-	-	-	-
Engaged	-	-	-	-	-
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

values and the family values are always interlinked.

In a wider sense, a family consists of individual members living together under a common roof, share a common hearth and a common purse.

TABLE No.3.24 :: Average number of members in the household

Name of the place	No. of household	Total Population	Persons per household	
			Survey result	1981 Census
Rangamati	113	654	5.71	5.82
Karalyachari	63	430	6.82	
Khagrachari	63	409	6.48	
Kamalchari	75	512	6.82	
			6.65	

Table 3.24 shows the average number of persons per household in the survey area. It was found that the number of persons per household in the survey area was 6.55% as against 5.82% in 1981 census in the district. It is also seen that in urban area persons per household are less than the rural area. Specially in Rangamati it was found the least of all the places in the survey. The reason behind it is due to the education of the urban people and awareness of the family planning.

Regarding the size of the family, Desai, A.R. differentiates four types of households : one having

TABLE No. 3.25 : Distribution of household by members

Household members	Rangamati	Karalya chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal-chari	Total
1 - 3 (Small household)	27 (23.89)	9 (12.00)	12 (16.00)	13 (17.33)	61 (19.23)
4 - 6 (Medium household)	74 (65.48)	42 (56.00)	33 (29.20)	53 (70.66)	202 (64.33)
7 - 9 (large)	10 (8.84)	11 (14.66)	14 (18.66)	8 (10.68)	43 (13.69)
10 and above (Very large)	2 (1.76)	1 (1.33)	4 (5.33)	1 (1.33)	8 (2.55)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

three members or less as a 'small' household, while 4, 5 or 6 members as a medium household, 7, 8 or 9 members, as a large household, and 10 or more members as a very large household. (Desai, A., 1969 : 112).

Table 3.25 shows the distribution of household members. We found that the respondents usually lived in nuclear families consisting of 4 to 6 members (64.35% of the total sample. Only 2.55% respondents had large families (10 and above members). It is seen that the Chakma families are generally nuclear now-a-days. While they were joint families in character only a decade ago.

In western society a nuclear family consists of husband, wife and unmarried children. But at present it is somewhat different from western nuclear family. Here we observe that besides their family members, they keep brothers, sisters, nephew, nieces with them for their education and other purpose. Ramanamma while classifying the families in India categorized this type of family as nuclear family with adherents wherein ego, wife, children and one or more dependents are found in the families. (Ramanamma, A., 1979 : 19).

#### Assets

In this modern age of science and technology the needs of men are endless. Demands are more when an individual comes in contact with many pursuits of modern life. He has to buy many things for himself and for his family. These properties determine the socio-economic status of an individual in society. Thus, in order to obtain information about the moveable and immovable properties which consist of land, livestock, furniture, utensils possessed by the respondents were enquired into.

Table No. 3.26 shows that 41.08 per cent i.e., 129 respondents have radio or cassette, followed by 6.05 per cent having sewing machines, 5.73 per cent

TABLE No. 3.26 : Assets possessed by the Respondents

Assets	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Radio / Cassettes	70 (61.94)	8 (12.64)	33 (52.38)	18 (24.00)	129 (41.08)
Bicycle	9 (7.96)	-	7 (11.11)	2 (2.66)	18 (5.73)
Motorcycle	2 (1.76)	-	1 (1.59)	-	3 (0.95)
Fan	11 (9.73)	-	2 (3.17)	-	13 (4.14)
Sewing Machine	14 (12.38)	-	3 (4.76)	2 (2.66)	19 (6.05)
Television	4 (3.53)	-	2 (3.17)	-	6 (1.91)
Telephone	2 (1.76)	-	-	-	2 (0.64)
Fridge	1 (0.88)	-	-	-	1 (0.32)
Nothing	-	55 (87.30)	15 (23.80)	53 (70.66)	123 (39.17)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

possessed bicycles. However, it is seen that in the urban areas the respondents possessed most of the things.

In Karalyachari village only 8 (12.69%) respondents were found possessing radio / cassette. 123 (39.17%) respondents had none of the above articles. However, the amount of the assets varies according to the financial capabilities of the people. It is seen that urban people are having more modern gadgets than the rural people.

### Residence

The Chakmas used to build their houses on machans (raised platform). The houses are mainly constructed with wood and bamboo with a chan grass thatched roof. The houses consist of several rooms (Gudhi) separated by bamboo partitions. Access to the house which may be six feet from the ground is by means of footholds cut in the trunk of a tree placed in the front and which can be removed in the night. The front space with an open verandah is known as the 'Ijar', two separate verandahs for males and females known as 'Chana' are used as dining halls, and connected with 'Chans' a guest room known as 'Singaba' used by the guests. In their absence it is used by the youngmen of the family along with a back verandah known as 'Ojaleng'.

The 'Ijar' is enclosed with a bamboo net wall, three or four feet high to prevent the small children falling over. Shocking accidents used to occur sometimes, when this precaution has been neglected. The back



verandah 'Ojeneng' of the house is also used for storage purposes, while the front 'Chana' is also used to sit in and for the women for weaving purposes. The 'Ijar' is used to store pitchers of water and also to dry the paddy. The guests are required to wash their feet before they entered the house. There are no windows in the house except in the 'Ojaleng' and the guest room, the rest of the rooms have only small ventilators. Now-a-days the Chakmas have abandoned the machan type of construction and are making their houses on the ground like the Bengalis. Like other tribal people, the Chakmas live mostly in their own houses. Even the landless householders with no land for home-stead build some structure on some one else's land and pays no rent, though he may be required to do some unpaid work in exchange for the privilege. Most of the houses have thatched roofs made of sungrass. Now some houses have brick walls and roofs of C.I. Sheets.

Table 3.27 shows that the traditional houses of the tribal population which are made of thatched and usually raised on platform are only 1.91%. In Karalyachari village, <sup>95%</sup> houses have been built on the ground with an open verandah in front space i.e., Ijar. Rest of the respondents stay in the houses built on the ground.

TABLE No. 3.27 : Housing Condition of the Respondent

Type of accommodation	Rangamati	Karalya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal-chari	Total
Traditional	-	6 (9.52)	-	-	6 (1.91)
Own house (Modern)	90 (79.64)	57 (90.47)	57 (90.47)	75 (100.00)	279 (88.86)
Government quarters	-	-	-	-	-
Rented house	9 (7.96)	-	3 (4.76)	-	12 (3.82)
Relative's house	14 (12.38)	-	3 (4.76)	-	17 (5.41)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

Among them 88.86% respondents stay in their own house; 3.82% in the rented house and 5.41% live with their relations or relations allowed them to stay in their houses. The change from the tradition to modern way of building houses has started long back. In urban areas building a house in traditional pattern is not possible.

The change of housing pattern both in rural and urban areas is attributable to the intensified interaction between Chakma and the Bengali plainsmen.

The exposure to modernity by adopting plains culture has also lead to a small amount of Bengalization in some structural features of house building in the Hill Tracts. The occurrence of such traits is associated chiefly with individual tribes who are eager to achieve status outside the tribal community by adopting the modern type of house-building. This can be considered as a major change from tradition to modernity among Chakmas.

#### Language

As stated earlier that the district is inhabited by a variety of tribes, viz., the Chakma, the Mugh, the Tiara, the Lushai, the Kuki, the Murung etc., each speaking its own distinct dialect. Chakmas speak a language which is a mixture of Bengali, Pali and Sanskrit written in Burmese characters; the Marmas speak a dialect of Burmese language; Tipras a language of their own which is akin to Kachari. The rest of the tribes speak different dialects of Assamese Burmese.

Little is known about the ancient Chakma language. But it is presumed that the ancient writing of the Chakmas was quite near to that of the Burmese. In Kan smati a few bamboo cylinders engraved with this ancient characters were found. About Chakma writing Capt. A.H. Lewin (1869 : 66, remarked that "the form of

the letters show that they are merely a crude adaptation of the Arakanese alphabet." Lewin Burnot says, "it is most probable that the Chakmas spoke a language not belonging to the Indo-European family before they settled themselves where they are now living. The Chakma group appears to be an example of Mongoloid group giving up its own language to the benefit of the Indo-European." (Burnot, 1964 : 146).

About the Chakma language, G.A. Grierson said, "In the central portion of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, in the chief's circle, situated in the country round the Karnafuli river, a broken dialect of Bengali, peculiar to the locality, and of a very curious character is spoken. It is called Chakma, and is based on south-eastern Bengali, but has undergone so much transformation that it is almost worth the dignity of being classed as a separate language." (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 203). Lewin and Mills favoured the idea that the Chakmas acquired the Bengali elements in their culture including their present language, as a result of acculturation during their eighteenth Century displacement northward into the lower Karnafuli basin away from the aegis of Arakan. (Sopher, 1964 : 120). The acculturation started after colonization of the Chittagong Hill Tracts by the Bengalis. Still many words that are spoken have no similarity with Bengali. Their language became corrupted

when they were influenced by the Bengalis. Edward Gait said, "when one nation brings another under subjection, it often imposes its own language on the conquered people." (Edward Gait, 1933 : 2).

We have mentioned that the Chakma language, though a broken form of Bengali, is written in Burmese characters. In this connection, J.A. Grierson writes "It is written in an alphabet which allowing for its cursive form, is almost identical with the Khmer character, which was formerly in use in Cambodia, Laos, Annam, Siam, and at least, the southern part of Burma. The Khmer alphabet is in its turn, the same as that which was current in the south of India in the sixth and seventh centuries. The Burmese character is derived from it, but is much more corrupted than the Chakma. The resemblance between the Chakma and the Khmer does not, however, extend to the typical peculiarity of the form that the inherent vowel of the consonant is  $\bar{a}$  and not  $a$ , though even in this there are noteworthy points of resemblance. The Khmer sign for  $\bar{a}$  has not the hook on the right hand side possessed by the Chakma  $\bar{a}$ . This hook represents the  $\bar{a}$ . Similarly, the hooks on the side of the Chakma  $ta$ ,  $tha$  and  $x\bar{a}$ , are all relics for the old sign for  $\bar{a}$ ." (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 203-204).

In Chakma language, peculiar intonation is also common in pronunciation among some of the clans of the Chakmas as is found in the pronunciation in the sadar area of Mymensingh district.

Like Bengali, Chakma language is also influenced by the Arabic and Persian languages, and some Arabic and Persian words are in common use among the Chakma people e.g., Khoda (God), Salam (Salute), Hagim (Judge) etc.

The Chakmas have many popular legends, "Radhamon" and "Dhanpedi", 'Chadigang Chara' are the main. The former speaks the glory of their ancestors, their valour and ideals on ceremonial occasions and the later indicates how they had to leave Chittagong. These songs are sung during the festival time.

In Chakma language very few written books are found. Of these the name of the two books, 'Rajamala' and 'Agartara' can be mentioned. 'Rajamala' is a book of history about Trippera and 'Agartara' is a book of religion. Both the books are written in Chakma alphabet.

Babu Nilkamal Das translated 'Boudha Ranjika' from the religious book, 'Thaduttoang' at the patronage of the Chakma Queen Sreemati Kalindi Rani in 1884. The

book is considered as the sacred book by the Chakmas. The Chakmas have several religious books which were written in Pali language and in Chakma alphabet. No Chakma person has written any book worth mentioning in English. Prof. Pierre Bessaignet, however, quoted a few articles in his book, "Tribesmen of the Chittagong Hill Tracts" which were written by the Chakma Chief, Capt. Raja Kumar Tridiv Roy and his father and grandfather. The <sup>best</sup> example of the standard work on the literature and racial character of the Chakmas is 'Chakma Jastir Itibritta' written by Biraj Mohan Dewan. The work is a significant contribution to Bengali literature itself. Another two research works entitled 'Chakma Vashir Itibritta' and 'Chakma Vashir Dwani Tatwa' by Jugata Chakma are note worthy. There are other writers, who have contributed in their own way to the richness of Chakma language and literature.

The educated youths of the Chakmas brought out little magazines such as Singha (Flare), Zuni (Firefly) Ranjuni (Rainbow), Biju and Eukromon, which have led to the growth of their language and literature. These publications also included writings from the Marma, Tipra and Tanchangya writers. The writings revealed the social values, national ethos, patriotic and religious fervour of the people. Through the writings the writers have tried to project the literature and culture.

In modern Chakma literature, one gets a glimpse of the artistic mind at work. It is evident particularly in poetry. Like Bengali poetry, the Chakma poetry also occupies its own distinctive place for its diversified forms and dynamic realities. The scenic splendour of the Chittagong Hill Tracts greenery and the simple pastoral charms of the villages have found articulate expressions in all their poetical works and lyrics.

In this study an attempt was made to ascertain the respondents knowledge of English and Bengali. In urban areas of Jangamati and Khagrachari, 75.22% and 60.31% of the respondents knew how to read and write English respectively. In rural areas of Kharalyachari and Kamalchari only 4.76% and 25.33% respondents knew English.

Bengali language is known by majority of the respondents (83.75%) in all the four survey areas. It is significant that in Jangamati the displaced people had more interaction with outsiders. The reason for knowing Bengali language is due to the fact that all the tribal people have to learn Bengali for the purpose of exchange of views with the Bengalis. All business and official transactions are in Bengali, because these are dominated by Bengalis.



TABLE No. 3.28 :: Languages known by the respondents

Language known	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total %
English	85	3	38	19	46.17
Bengali	113	38	46	66	83.75

=====

Multi response table.

#### Food and Drink

Food is one of the most important basic needs without which no animate being can survive. Normally individuals adopt their diet patterns with the indigenous food stuffs available in the area. Differences in food habits are due to the diversity of race and the ecology.

An analysis of the food items and dietary habits of the people in an area is important because it reflects the nutritional level of the population. In a region where trading in food is limited, the dietary pattern of the people will reflect the cropping pattern. The food production in the area is determined largely by the climatic and topographical peculiarities of the region because the people produce what they eat and eat basically what they produce.

The normal diet of the people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts consists of rice, fish, meat, vegetables etc. Rice is the staple food consumed by all the people in this area. Consumption of wheat is very negligible. The frequency of consumption of rice and wheat by the respondents during the week preceding the survey is given in Table 3.29.

TABLE NO.3.29 :: Distribution of household by daily consumption of rice and wheat

Name of the area	Daily frequency in the last week					TOTAL
	R	I	C	E	WHEAT	
	Once	Twice	Three	Four times	Once	
Rangamati	-	76 (67.25)	32 (28.31)	3 (2.65)	2 (1.76)	113
Karalyachari	3 (4.76)	58 (92.06)	2 (3.17)	-	-	63
Khagrachari	1 (1.59)	49 (77.77)	11 (17.46)	1 (1.59)	1 (1.59)	63
Kamalchari	1 (1.33)	66 (88.00)	8 (10.66)	-	-	75
TOTAL :	5 (1.59)	249 (79.29)	53 (16.80)	4 (1.27)	3 (0.95)	314 (99.98)

It is observed from the above table that all the respondents (314) consumed rice daily and that 1.59% consumed it once a day, while 79.29% twice daily, 16.88% thrice daily and 1.27% four times daily. An infinitesimally small number of respondents (0.95%) consumed wheat during the week prior to the survey and all of them consumed it once a day. Majority of the respondents (79.29%) consumed rice twice a day followed by 16.88% thrice a day. It is observed that the Chakmas take rice in the morning as breakfast, lunch at noon and in the evening for dinner. Therefore, the consumption of rice is more. It is also observed that vegetables, dal, eggs, milk, dry fish, potatoes and fruits formed a part of their diet.

Information on consumption of other items by the household like tobacco, wine, betelnut, tea was also collected which is shown in Table 3.30. It was found that tobacco in the form of cigarettes, pipe-smoking and cheroot was very common. In fact 79.93% of the respondents were found to be indulging in tobacco smoking. Wine, (a kind of rice beer made by the local women) was also consumed by 65.92% of the respondents, while 62.42% of the respondents were eating betel leaf (Pan) regularly. Daily consumption of tea became a very popular habit of the people of this region.

TABLE No. 3,30 :: Distribution of household taking  
other items

Type of items consumed	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Tobacco, Cigarettes and other items	66 (58.40)	60 (95.23)	58 (92.06)	67 (89.33)	251 (79.93)
Wine	83 (73.45)	49 (77.77)	51 (80.95)	24 (32.00)	207 (65.92)
Pan	54 (47.78)	42 (66.66)	49 (77.77)	51 (68.00)	196 (62.42)
Tea	109 (96.46)	23 (36.50)	44 (69.84)	25 (33.33)	201 (64.01)

Multi-response table.

Tea drinking habit is found more in Rangamati (96.46%) than in other parts due to modernization. In rural areas tea consumption is less than the urban areas.

#### Arts, Crafts and Dress

The word 'art' has always been used to cover a variety of meanings. In its strictest sense it is used in distinction from 'nature' to cover all phenomena which are due to the exercise of human ability as opposed to those which man in no way controls. But nature has

always played a vital role in the development of art. Man is the child of nature. The creative urges of men have centred round nature. Nature has mothered homo-sapiens through the most turbulent phase of his development and in consequence it has deeply influenced and moulded his mysterious and ageless handiwork - his art, from potshreds to pyramids, from cave art to Michael Angelo, nature has been conjured up and mirrored in those painful and hallowed pieces which go by the name of art. In short 'Art is Nature' (Jattar, 1975 :161)

Hypothesis about the origin and the evolution of art have so far yielded little convincing evidence of general principles. In some instances ornaments may have preceded efforts at representation of nature, in other cases forms of nature may have been evolved into decorative patterns. In one area or period drawing and painting may have preceded sculpture, but the process may have been reversed elsewhere. The factors potentially influencing artistic expression are multiple : available new materials, techniques arising from the use of certain materials and from customary industries and crafts, ideas and actions uppermost in people's minds and their general mental approach and development. (WIAS, 1967 : 654,661).

In primitive society art is not highly developed nor is consciously cultivated but it encompasses

everything from cradle to cremation. It is discernible in the religion and worship of the people in their temple and monasteries, in singing and dancing, their diet pattern, drink and clothing. Therefore, their art is their life. E.A. Hoebel said, "that primitive art is the art of primitive peoples." (Hoebel, 1958 : 253).

Development of trade transactions and seafaring nature of the people helped in the spread of arts and crafts. Once connoisseurs of metal imported artists from China and Germany to design their places and furniture. This helped to popularise their art among the people. Thus art travelled from one country to another. In pre-historic times the British isles was intensively influenced by so many countries like, France, Central Europe and Scandinavia.

Assimilation in art also speeded up through mutual contact. For example, the Eskimos bartered their furs and wood for fruits like dates from the Arabs of the Sahara desert, shells and snails from Pacific coasts, and cotton, wood, leaves and bark of trees from the Andaman islands. In this way mutual exchanges led to diversification and improvement of craftsmanship.

For the development of art, museums have also played an important role. Museum is the live institution of art. R.V. Sayce rightly observes, "Museum collections

will show in what a great extent the peoples .... have depend upon the natural products of their surroundings. As a consequence there arises the necessity for an ethnographical museum to have a good supply of suitable photographs in its cases to illustrate the natural setting of the cultures that they represents; for all tribal monographs to contain good and well-illustrated descriptions of the territory in which the tribe under discussion lives, and for the archaeologist to reconstruct as far as possible the geographical conditions in the midst of which the cultures which he studies were developed and spread." (Sayce : 1983 : 30).

Like others the art of Chakma people reveals diverse influences. The architectural design of the religious shrines - called Khyang (Monastery) of the Chakmas and Marmas bears the testimony of Burmese influence.

The Oraons, Santals, Ho, Mundas, Rajbansia and Bunas of Rangpur, Dinajpur, Bagra and Rajshahi districts in Bangladesh follow Indian motifs which have a dominant themes in their art.

The people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts show a surprising excellence in basket making. Bamboo is the bulk of materials used for making baskets. Some people of this area have learnt many technological

devices for their livelihood. The diversified influences in the technique of art are different from their own culture. Carpentry is an example of such type. There is no denying the fact that tribal culture has been greatly influenced by the Bengalis. Thus modern techniques in many fields have been acquired by them.

Although the art of drawing and using of colour is not well known to these people, yet they have their unique designs of traditional paintings. A sense of beauty was a compelling factor which urged men to devise new methods of image making from drawing to painting and sculpture.

Table No. 3.32 shows the arts and crafts pursued by the respondents. Majority of the respondents pursued basket making as craft (164 or 52.22% of the total respondents), but 138 (43.94%) do not know arts / crafts. Previously art of knowing basketery was a common phenomenon for the Chakmas. As they are heading towards modernisation, basketry has been replaced by other new types of activities now-a-days. It is significant to note that a great majority (76.99%) of respondents from Rangamati do not follow any art or crafts. This evidently shows that they are becoming modern and are leaving their traditional art and crafts.



TABLE NO.3.31 :: Distribution of Household knowing  
Arts and Crafts

Type of crafts	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Samal- chari	Total
Basketry	21 (18.58)	52 (82.53)	38 (60.31)	53 (70.66)	164 (52.22)
Carpentry	5 (4.42)	-	2 (3.17)	1 (1.33)	8 (2.54)
Traditional Painting	-	3 (4.76)	1 (1.59)	-	4 (1.27)
Knows nothing	87 (76.99)	8 (12.69)	22 (34.92)	21 (28.00)	138 (43.94)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

# Dress

Most tribal people of Bangladesh have their own traditional dress. The male members wear a white turban with a coat and dhotee. The upper classes and the educated people use western type of dresses.

The Chakma women have fair complexion and a well developed figure. They brush their hair back and tie it in a loose knot at the back of the head. They wear blouses of home spun red cloth (Khadi) and petticoats

TABLE No. 3.32 : Dress Pattern of the household  
in the Survey Area

Dress Pattern	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamali chari	Total
Traditional Type	-	15 (23.80)	-	-	15 (4.77)
Western Type	107 (94.69)	27 (42.85)	44 (69.84)	34 (45.33)	212 (67.51)
Lungi, dhoti/ Saree	6 (5.30)	21 (33.33)	19 (30.15)	41 (54.66)	87 (27.70)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

of home spun cloth dyed dark blue with a deep red boarder called 'Pinon'. The combined garment is worn tightly wrapped round the body and twisted in at the waist and reaches almost to the ankels.

Table No. 3.32 gives the dress style of the respondents. Out of total of 314 respondents only 15 or 4.77% respondents were using traditional dresses. It should be mentioned here that the traditional dresses are woven at home. The Chakma women are noted for their skill and design for weaving blouses and pinons. Due to modernity people have given up their traditional dresses

Young Chakma boys use pants and shirts and most of the girls imitate the dress style of Bengalis, some at times use their traditional dresses. Traditional way of life is gradually replaced by modern values and ideas as a phase of acculturation with the greater societies. Majority of respondents , using western type dresses are 212 or 67.51%. At the same time lungis, dhoties, sarees are used by 87 or 27.70% of the households.

Weaving is an important art in the Chakma society. Specially in the rural areas in every house, weaving loom is commonly seen. In Table No. 3.33, we find that in rural areas almost all the respondents have weaving looms at their home. In the urban area the housewives weave cloth with waist loom. Though the Chakma girls use sarees and blouses still the traditional dress pinnon and Khadi is very popular among them. They make their dress themselves by the waist loom. After the formation of Bangladesh woollen cloth made by the Chakma girls became popular everywhere. Materials for this cloth is procured from the second hand cloth imported from foreign countries. At present the Chakma women weave woollen cloth using this fibre and do a profitable business by selling it.

The traditional ornaments of Chakma women consist of ear-rings, necklaces, bracelets, anklets and bangles. There are three varieties of necklaces, one of

TABLE No. 3.33 :: Distribution of household by  
Weaving loom in Survey Area

	Ranga- Mati	Karalya chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Having weaving loom	14 (12.38)	58 (92.06)	45 (71.42)	75 (100.00)	192 (61.15)
No weaving loom	99 (87.61)	5 (7.93)	18 (28.57)	-	122 (39.85)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

massive make worn close round the neck, the other a band of filigree work in silver reaching below the breasts, the third consisting of rupee coins strung on black thread. The main ornaments used by the Chakma women are as follows:

Hairpin - Cherang, with a chain Chulaphul (hair flower) ear-ring, Zumuli, Kanphul or Kajaphul etc.

Necklace and Chain - Cheek, Aajuli, Aal Chara, Tenga Chara, Pijichara (beads) etc.

Amulets - Taj-Jur, Baju

Bangles - Kuji haru, Balaharu, Bangari, ivory bangles.

Nose Pins - Sona Nos, Nakphul.

The ornaments are mostly made of silver, a few in gold. But it is observed that none of the ornaments are used by them now-a-days. This is due to direct impact of Bengali culture that the Chakma women have abandoned their traditional ornaments and adopted new designs in place of their own. Thus we notice that due to acculturation Chakmas are changing their dress styles, and ornaments. The indigenous arts and crafts are slowly disappearing. However, weaving is still practiced by Chakma women. The change noticed in weaving is that they are weaving woollen clothes out of imported second hand cloth by utilizing the fibre. They are also selling this woollen cloth.

#### The Impact of Hydro-Electric

#### Project on Occupation

It is an undenyng fact that the construction of Kaptai Hydro-Electric dam in the district dramatically changed the economic life, social customs and behaviour of the people. The direct and indirect impact is felt virtually all over the Hill Tracts. Now the tribal communities particularly the Chakmas are found to be involved in several skills and work for meeting their necessities for existence. The dam created increased means of communication, administration and community development projects were started. The dam was also

created a traumatic experience for the tribal population in the district displacing about 28,000 households, affecting more than a lakh of people and submerging 54,000 acres of land or 40 per cent of the plough land of the district. Since then the government has taken up new development projects and schemes throughout the district. The Chakmas living in the district are rapidly taking up a number of urban occupations. The causes of this tendency are not of recent origin but its acceleration is recent because of the urban industrial revolution operating in this district. The impact of urbanisation on the Chakma social life is reflected through different factors such as spread of education, participation in the services, business and trade and the administrative programmes of the government. In terms of structural relationship and cultural contents of Chakma society, we note that gradually but surely new values and concepts from the Bangalies have continued to penetrate into the Chakma villages. Thus they have disturbed traditional way of life.

The most important traditional occupation of the Chakma people was agriculture. It is now becoming a market based or monetized economy. In the weekly market, paddy rice and vegetables are the most important items of business transactions.

We noticed a dichotomy between the local and the non-locals in respect of business. The local people are mostly selling vegetables, paddy and rice while the non-locals deal in outside merchandise such as cloth, stationery and utensils. With the improvement of road communication facilities and transport services, modern things have become easily available in the rural areas which brought about a great change in the consumption and utilization pattern of the people.

The growing existence of a large agglomeration of the population in this district where there was a small number of people previously has brought in its train a host of social problems for the tribals. Many of the problems are due to the fact that the tribals were thrown into unfamiliar urban situations, which they were unable to combat primarily because they had no prescribed behavioural patterns in their tradition. As a result of this there has been modification in their social and cultural values under urban and industrial conditions. Among the tribal youth, however, there is growing antagonism against their traditional mode of social life, which often results in dropping out or rejecting tribal models of behaviour. Due to daily contacts with modern culture, the urban way of life is slowly but steadily pushing its way into the social life pattern of the tribals, replacing their traditional way of life.

This phenomena which has been accelerated in recent times, lead to the process of detribalisation. The use of the term 'detribalisation' here means primarily to indicate the change from the tribal to urban standard of behaviour.

However, in some places agriculture has been replaced by other occupations, horticulture and fishing are the important examples. Horticulture is being encouraged by the government (growing pineapples). This occupation is seen mainly in the hill tops of submerged area. Currently, there are about 3000 registered fishermen fishing in the lake of the dam. The Chakmas who are engaged in fishing occupation are only 20-25 per cent of the total number of fishermen. These Chakma fishermen were those who were uprooted by the submergence of the land due to the construction of the Kaptai dam.

The changing pattern of occupation near the industrial complex of Kaptai, Chandraghona has given a tremendous set back of the traditional subsistence economy. These people, who were completely uprooted from their traditional villages have by and large become gardeners and fishermen. But the case of the educated Chakmas is quite different in respect of their occupation. A large number of educated Chakma people work for the government, while some are in teaching profession in



different institutions, others are engaged in factories or work as contractors. This brings monetary income and boost the Chakma economy. A small proportion of the Chakma people are engaged in non-farm activities, like business, trade, professions etc. But trade and business in the district are mostly in the hands of outsiders. However, the educated Chakma people are found moving towards urban areas in search of employment facilities, and subsequently settling there. Thus education determined the occupation as well as the status of an individual in the society. Through education cultural evolution is taking place which is perceptible in the Chakma society. The Chakmas have progressed from Machan Ghar i.e., platform dwelling to residential houses, from a Jhumia (slash and burn cultivator) to agriculturist and to a government official and from illiteracy to education. They have been given the right to become a member in the Jatiya Sangsad (Parliament). They have been moved away from the tribal obscurantism and entered the fold of civilised society and religion through education. Damle et al rightly observed that 'education and occupation are directly related. The type of job that one chooses is invariably related to the level of education and the type of education one has received. (Damle and Bambawale, 1978 : 64).

At present as the tribes are leaning more and more towards modern education the transition is reflected in their society. The avant garde in this change are the Chakmas, Tipras and Marmars. They never claim to be Bangalees. They have zealously guarded their individuality in culture and literature. They are trying hard to catch up on education with the non-tribal population.

#### Leisure and Recreation

Leisure is defined "as the period during which an individual is free from work or other duties and which may be utilised for purposes of relaxation, diversion social achievement or personal development (Gist and Fava, 1964 : 411). Human societies have possessed activities enabling people to find enjoyment, amusement, self fulfilment and self enrichment. The experiences that modern man gains from his leisure are cultural universals, but the ways in which these experiences have been obtained have varied immensely." (Kenneth, 1970 : 86). 'Recreation supplies an outlet for the activity drive and as such satisfactory.' (Nash, 1953 : 119). The term 'recreation' covers many things—play change from drudgery, rest for mind and body, sport and amusement etc. It includes all the ways in which people spend the spare time or leisure moments by way

of recreation. "Taking off from Karl Marx, someone defined leisure as 'the new opiate of the masses'. Yet others characterise leisure as a particular form of discretionary human activity which consumes disposable time - and disposable money" - (Times of India, Bombay, November 22, 1985 : 8). "Included in the all-embracing term "leisure activities" are items such as tours and travels, buying fast food or eating out in style, visiting discotheques, sports gymnasia, health centres, fashion shows and art exhibitions, buying the new specialist magazines and so forth. The key element, of course, is that leisure expenditure is discretionary and one always has a choice." (Times of India, Bombay, November 22, 1985 : 8).

Leisure and recreation are part of social life. Leisure is considered as a relief from the monotonous life and recreation is a socialising force which offers an opportunity for free choice and creative experience. The way in which leisure and recreation are enjoyed may be appropriate or inappropriate, good or bad, timely or ill-timed is consciously found in all societies. The amount of leisure time spent to each activity and the character of activities may vary from a group, a community or a society. During the leisure hours and holidays, people pursue different types of recreational

holidays. People pursue different types of recreational activities as a change from their routine work. Generally salaried people in urban areas spend a portion of their income for recreational purposes during the time of their leisure. The place of work in an urban area is away from the place of residence, thus providing a wider range of contacts, interests and friendship which is not commonly found in the traditional community, since persons pursued, their occupations with the family members. Many changes occurred in the nature of leisure and recreational activities. Here the recreation and leisure time activities are used as an index of social change and thereby the urban impact upon them. Skills in recreational activities are supplement to the economic activities which not only bring personal satisfaction but provides integration of ideas and views.

#### Leisure Time Activities of the Chakmas

The respondents were asked how they spent their spare time. The replies from urban area respondents in both submerged and non-submerged areas covered many activities and replies from rural areas were almost similar. Of them 35 respondents did not have any specific recreational activities.

TABLE NO. 3.34 :: Leisure Time Activities of the  
Chakmas

Leisure Time Activities	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamala- chari	Total
With friends	21 (18.58)	4 (6.34)	9 (14.28)	6 (8.00)	40 (12.73)
With relatives	40 (35.34)	3 (4.76)	18 (28.57)	4 (5.33)	65 (20.70)
Outing for fishing	6 (5.30)	-	2 (3.17)	1 (1.33)	9 (2.86)
Working at home	46 (40.70)	45 (71.42)	24 (38.09)	50 (66.66)	165 (52.54)
No specific recreation	-	11 (17.46)	10 (15.87)	14 (18.66)	35 (11.14)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

It is seen from the above table that 165 (52.54%) respondents spend their leisure time by working on their hobbies at home, followed by 65 (20.70%) respondents spent their time with relatives and 40 (12.73%) with friends. Only 9 (2.86%) go for fishing as a leisure time activity.

Usually people return home after 5 P.M. from their work get relaxation and drink rice beer with friends.

For both submerged and non-submerged areas the most popular leisure time pursuit is enjoying a movie. It is the cheapest form of entertainment for all individuals. The rural people go to bazar on weekly market days and enjoy movies where cinema houses are located.

TABLE No. 3.35 :: Respondents who go to Movies

Response	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	104 (92.03)	20 (31.74)	48 (76.19)	40 (53.33)	212 (67.51)
No	9 (7.96)	43 (68.25)	15 (23.80)	35 (46.66)	102 (32.48)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

It is seen from the above table that 212 (67.51%) respondents enjoy seeing a movie as part of their recreation. It is also noticed that urban people are more interested in movies, since the cinema houses are situated in the town which are easily accessible for the urban people. This kind of facility is not easily available for the rural people.

The frequency of visit, however, is regulated by the amount of money which an individual can afford, and also depends on the habit of a person. Some people visit cinema houses every week or at least twice in a week. It was also observed that the people spend a considerable amount for seeing the movies. Hence, an attempt was made to know the opinions of the respondents regarding the effect of a movie on general public. In Table 3.36, it is seen that 121 (38.53% respondents opined that it has neither good nor bad effect. 74 (23.56%) held positive view while 58 (18.47%) and 61 (19.42%) considered cinema as having bad and mixed influences respectively.

TABLE NO. 3.36 :: Respondents' Opinion regarding effect of movies

Opinion	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Good influence	18 (15.92)	8 (12.64)	14 (22.22)	34 (45.33)	74 (23.56)
Neither good nor bad	59 (52.21)	28 (44.44)	26 (41.26)	8 (10.66)	121 (38.53)
Bad influence	15 (13.27)	26 (41.26)	9 (14.28)	17 (22.56)	58 (18.47)
Mixed influence	21 (18.58)	8 (10.66)	14 (22.22)	16 (21.33)	61 (19.42)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

Reading is one of the important leisure activity of educated people. One of the most popular leisure time activity among the educated respondents is the habit of reading newspapers and magazines. They showed great interest in day to day social and political events published in the newspapers. Besides these, after returning home from work some play cards and chess for recreation. In the villages football, Kabadi are the popular games, played during their leisure hours.

#### Reading Newspapers

Newspapers are the media of communication which carries ideas and information to the people. It gives news from distant places. An attempt was made to assess how many respondents have the habit of reading the newspapers.

Table No. 3.37 revealed that 135 (42.99%) respondents did not read newspapers at all and the rest of the respondents read newspapers either regularly or occasionally. It is obvious that urban people read newspapers more than rural people. Here, it is seen that the educated people, who mainly stay at the urban areas are not confined to their thinking and outlook within certain limit but are also imbibing new ideas, values by reading newspapers. In Rangamati and Khagrachari the respondents who read newspapers regularly



TABLE NO.3.37 :: Newspaper reading habit of the  
Respondents

Frequency of reading	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Regularly	80 (70.79)	-	49 (77.77)	10 (13.33)	139 (44.26)
Occasionally	27 (23.89)	2 (3.17)	6 (9.52)	5 (6.66)	40 (12.73)
Never	6 (5.30)	61 (96.82)	8 (12.69)	60 (80.00)	135 (42.99)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

are 70.79% and 77.77% respectively. As there is greater illiteracy in rural areas reading of papers is less.

Table No. 3.38 gives the preferences of respondents to different items in the newspapers. It is found that most of the respondents preferred mainly to read current news. Here, current news includes world events, national and regional news. The migrant resettled respondents from Karamati (61.9%) and 46.3% from Kagrachari are interested in current news. In conformity with the reading of newspapers we also noticed that urban respondents are interested in current affairs which is

a value of modernization. Since the district is politically active and is in a disturbed state, the educated respondents naturally spent their leisure time in reading current affairs in newspapers. This in fact can be interpreted as political activism or awareness.

The reading of novels, biographies fiction etc. constitute a leisure time literary pursuit. It is relevant to ascertain whether the respondents had any such pursuits.

TABLE No. 3,39 : Reading of Books, Novels etc. by  
Respondents

Type of Material	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Novels	42 (37.16)	1 (1.59)	12 (19.04)	7 (8.33)	62 (19.74)
Biographies	16 (14.15)	-	7 (11.11)	2 (2.66)	25 (7.96)
Detectives	9 (7.96)	-	4 (6.34)	3 (4.00)	16 (5.09)
Fiction	11 (9.73)	-	6 (9.52)	4 (5.33)	21 (6.68)
Don't read	35 (30.97)	62 (98.41)	34 (53.96)	59 (78.66)	190 (60.50)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

In Table 3.39 it is seen that only 62 (19.74%) respondents read novels and they are mainly from urban areas namely 37.16% from Rangamati and 19.04% are from Khagrachari. Magazines like Weekly, 'Bichitra', 'Robbar' and 'Swadesh' are popular among the educated respondents. Majority of the respondents 190 (60.50%) read neither books nor magazines. This shows that reading novels and magazines are not the major pastime for majority of rural people.

#### Listening to the Radio.

Earlier it was stated that 50 per cent respondents owned radio sets. Of all the leisure time activities, radio listening is the most popular leisure time pursuits among the Chakmas.

Music and songs are most popular items for all the listeners. Listeners gave preferences in order of popularity to music and songs, cultural programmes, plays and news items. Among the educated respondents, British Broadcasting Corporation's (B.B.C's) Bengali news is very popular. The reason may be that B.B.C. played the vital role in broadcasting actual news during the time of Bangladesh liberation movement. It also broadcasts sometimes the affairs of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. In the interview it was found music, songs, plays are universally popular among the Chakmas irrespective of

their age and sex. Besides these individuals had their own preferences to agricultural programmes, news and political discussions. Thus listening to the radio gives the listeners a sense of participation in world affairs. Listening to the radio has many functions. It is a source of pleasure and entertainment. It enlightens people. Finally the radio serves as a bridge between the tribal and the urban world. It appears new group norms, inculcates modern attitudes. Radio particularly plays an important role as a disseminator of knowledge and as a means of entertainment.

#### The Significance of Leisure Activities

Everybody desires to reduce the drudgery of their routine work. Leisure time activity is influenced not by individual needs and values but by norms of groups to which a man belongs. There is no scheduled time to enjoy leisure in the village but they enjoy whenever they are free from the routine duties of daily life. They drink liquor, play games visit neighbours and relatives, talk and gossip about the affairs of their kindred and friends and about local events. The rituals on the occasion of birth initiation, marriage and death are significant part of religion but the feasts, playing and drinking provide a welcome break in the monotony of the daily life. In this sense there is no such difference

in enjoying leisure between submerged and non-submerged area respondents. Economic, religious and leisure time activities are not as sharply differentiated as they are in urban society. But the ritual and traditional leisure activities of the village became less significant to the urban dwellers. From them, there is a growing number of alternatives in the choice of leisure activities. Significant among these, as stated earlier, are listening to the radio, going to movies, reading newspapers, magazines and books and passing time in restaurants by gossiping and chit chatting. The present day activities of the respondents are a change from the traditional leisure time activities. According to Gare, "The function of leisure activities may be a preparation of social mobility, through a sense of participation and identification with the larger urban society. Image of self, human relations and of the world may be altered by some of the new activities, such as the use of radio, reading newspapers, going to the cinemas. (Gare, 1971 : 333). Thus, the study of leisure time activities provides a useful index of urban impact and social change, since the traditionalists and modernists tend to differ in the use of leisure. One can think of continuum which has at the one end of the face to face relations of the tribal society and at the other the more impersonal relationship associated with the urban society. Sex,

age and education appeared to be the chief variables which influenced the choice of leisure activities.

### Conclusion

The traditional culture of the Chakmas is fast changing under the influence of modernity due to science and technology and easy accessibility of transportation. The educated Chakmas are taking up jobs outside their villages which has tremendous implication for social change. They are from an independent traditional background but while living in the town they adopt modern ways of outlook. These factors created changes in the socio-economic set up of the Chakma people. Thus the change in the life pattern of these people from traditional to modern form rural to urban setting and the impact of modernisation are the main factors noticed in the present study.

With the advent of plough cultivation in the late 19th Century some Chakma elites brought Bengali cultivators as share croppers to plough land. In course of time a large number of people have learned the use of plough. Shifting cultivation gradually became less important and at present very few people practised this type of cultivation. Not only this, the Chakmas now do not rely on rain water for cultivation. They irrigate their land through digging canals and use pump sets, use better seeds and apply fertilizers in the land. They have

adopted new patterns of life. The change of residential pattern is also noticed among the Chakmas. The modern phase of exposure to plains culture has led to a small amount of Bengalisation in some features of housebuilding in the Hill Tracts. The above factors are changing due to social interaction and acculturation of the Bengalis..

The Chakma language which has been corrupted with Bengali was also due to acculturation. It was observed that most of the Chakmas both in urban and rural areas know at least how to speak in Bengali. This proves that the Bengali language has made inroads in the Chakma society due to acculturation but no sign of assimilation was found.

In respect of food and drink habit tremendous changes have taken place among the Chakmas. Apart from their traditional foods they consume most of the items like plains people. Arts, crafts and dresses have been changed through mutual contact with the Bengalis. Women use modern ornaments as used by the Bengali women. Men wear western dress. All these changes are taking place due to acculturation with the Bengalis.

The major change observed among the Chakmas is their pursuit of education. It is observed that education on a mass scale has been introduced in recent years. The education of the respondents was found remarkably improved

in comparison to their fathers' education.

Education is important because it imparts knowledge and skill to the individual and is functional in providing employment. We observed that our respondents due to education have found employment in government offices and other organisations and some were found to be engaged in more than one economic activities at a time. The development of commercial activities since the construction of the dam has introduced new sources of income. In some cases agriculture has been replaced by other occupation and some of the Chakmas are engaged in non-farm activities. Thus it is observed that the respondents could accommodate and adjust with the new situation arising out of displacement due to the construction of the dam.

At present the nature of the Chakma family is nuclear family. In fact most of the respondents in the urban area preferred to have a small family norm though rural people still prefer more children.

The Chittagong Hill Tracts is the abode of heterogenous people. Many people from different religions are living side by side without any hindrances to their way of life. The co-existence of different people with different cultures never appeared incongruous or self contradictory. Thus the sign of syncretisation is perceptible



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## Chapter IV

### Family and Marriage

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## CHAPTER IV

FAMILY AND MARRIAGE

## The Family :

Introduction

Change of Family System

Family Authority

## Marriage :

Marriage Forms

Traditional Marriage

Change in Marriage System

Marriage Pattern

Types of Marriage

Age at Marriage

Size of the Family

Choice of Partner for the Children

Family Planning Programmes and Practices

Divorce and Separation

The Family

Introduction : The family as the standard social unit has been found in different forms in almost all levels of cultural development. The form and basis of familial groupings have varied from time to time and from place to place. Different types of families have been observed in different societies and at different points of time and space. But as a basic social group family existed in all societies and at all times.

The family as a social group is characterised by common residence, economic co-operation and reproduction. It includes adults of both sexes, at least two of whom maintain a socially approved sexual cohabitation. The family is to be distinguished from marriage which is a complex of customs centering upon the relationship between sexually associating pair of adults within the family.

According to Lowie, the family may be considered as an association that corresponds to the institution of marriage (Lowie, 1950 : 215). Radcliff Brown includes in the family husband, wife and their child/children (Radcliff, 1941 : 2). In the tribal family of the Chittagong Hill Tracts includes not only the husband and wife and their minor children but also parents, in-laws, sons and daughters.

Among the Chakmas the nuclear family system is prevalent and joint family type is also common to an extent.

The nuclear family consists of one conjugal pair with or without other relatives. Regarding joint family, Irawati Karve defined, "A Joint Family is a group of people, who generally live under one roof, who eat food cooked at one hearth, who hold property in common and who participate in common family worship and are related to each other as some particular type of kindred." (Irawati Karve, 1953 : 10). I.P. Desai, adds, common income as well as property to this definition and also stresses mutual rights and obligation. (Desai, I.P., 1956 : 147-148).

Traditionally, the Chakmas are not called by the family or clan name, which is often the surname. A person is known by his or her personal name. The



name is generally given by the eldest male member or father or by near relatives. However, surnames have been adopted like those of Bengalee Hindus, with the exception that the name of the tribe is at the end.

Traditionally, the inheritance among the Chakmas is through the male line. But in the absence of male member the female members will inherit the property.

In the analysis of the Chakma family type both nuclear and joint family are found. On these family structure, we find authority structure, relationship between members and rights of inheritance are easily discernible. The pattern of the family of the Chakmas is given in Table No. 4.1

The table shows that out of total of 314 respondents 266 (84.72%) are having nuclear units with husband, wife and their children or widow with children and 29 (9.23%) are joint families. It was observed that the married couple has a tendency to build their house near the husband's family.

It is generally observed that education spreads a spirit of individualism, consequently, the educated persons prefer small nuclear family to the joint families.

TABLE NO. 4.1 :: Type of Family of the Respondents

Type of family	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Nuclear	110 (97.34)	48 (76.19)	49 (77.77)	59 (78.66)	266 (84.72)
Joint	-	14 (22.22)	9 (14.28)	6 (8.00)	29 (9.23)
Unmarried	3 (2.65)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (13.33)	19 (6.05)
TO AL :	113	63	63	75	314

Ross has enumerated "widespread opportunities for education as one of the new factors which are important in encouraging smaller family household." (Ross, 1961 : 50). However, education is not a sufficient evidence in Chakmas to conclude that the joint families are disintegrating. Other factors such as economical and psychological are also to be taken into account. In the rural areas the joint family has been one of the most important institutions and it retains much of its importance even in the changed conditions of present times. The sentiments binding together the members of a joint family are so strong; that the former

patterns cannot be changed so easily. K.M. Kapadia is of the view that "the sentiments of jointness should be regarded as the major attribute of the joint family." (Kapadia, K.M. 1972 : 98).

#### Change of Family System

However, the Chakma joint family is gradually losing its intrinsic function, which it had possessed from time immemorial and which continues though to a diminishing degree. The social and economic conditions prevailing at present has been leading to the emancipation of the family members from the traditional tribal institutional controls.

Social scientists strongly subscribe to the belief that industrialisation or urbanisation is the major factor for change among the tribal societies. This hypothesis is not applicable to all tribal societies, but only to those who live in villages, adjoining industrial or urban centres. The interior villages are less influenced by urban centres, yet their influence can not be ignored. In the present study we observed that there is not one particular factor singly responsible for changing the tribal family, but a group of factors have brought about change in the Chakma family structure.

Economy is one of the main factors contributing to change in the tribal family structure. An agro-based economy as envisaged in the Chakma family shows that mainly paddy cultivation is practised. All the members of the family contribute their earnings for their subsistence. It is noticed that in the Chakma family both males and females labour on the land and are engaged in other subsidiary occupations. Besides their household work both go to work either as daily wage labourers or on an annual contract. Thus people keep away from the mainstream of the family temporarily and may develop separate family units. Besides their household work both husband and wife of a joint family go to work either as daily labourers or on an annual contract outside the village where they build up a temporary lodge keeping away themselves from the mainstream of the family. This may develop separate family units.

It has also been observed that the role of ecological factors is another important consideration for change in the Chakma family. During the British and post-British era they had freedom to utilize forest produce and cultivate land in the forest areas. They cultivated these lands using the slash and burn cultivation method. They made use of the forest

resources and did not have any problem. They stayed in joint families which provided protection and physical security from wild animals.

After creation of Pakistan and subsequently after the emergence of Bangladesh restrictions were imposed on slash and burn cultivation which once the best means of livelihood of the Chakma people. They face economic constraints in maintaining the joint family. The family is divided into nuclear units for a better livelihood. They feel that at present, the nuclear family is better equipped to fulfil their needs. Here all members play an active role. Also, they are migrating to urban areas for a better livelihood.

Another factor affecting change in the family is education. The educated among the Chakmas do not attach much importance to any traditional values. Moreover as they get employment in various organisations outside the village, they settledown at those places and as a result a nuclear family evolves. This trend was found everywhere in the area under survey.

#### Family Authority

The authority in a joint family is traditionally delegated or assumed by the senior most male, reckoned according to kinship. But in view of education,

experience and<sup>h</sup>better earnings by the younger ones, the old fashioned parents and elder brothers in general, are losing their importance in the family. It has been observed that an elder brother is often relegated to a subordinate position in authoritarianism because of his lower education. He finds considerable difficulty in adapting to urban conditions or is not able to earn enough money. Though such an inversion of the role is possible among brothers, it is much less likely in the case of a father and his son.

In traditional culture, in which the economic and social conditions remained almost unchanged from the generation to another, age and kinship were considered to be the sole criteria for taking the authoritarian position of the family. Since experience accumulates with age, the older people were given the main control of the family. But in urban areas, due to rapid technological progress experience has lost much of its value. It is adaptation to material and moral possibilities of an individual which is valued more in the changing social system. Since older people find difficulty in making adaptation to urban situation with increasing age the father is compelled to give his authority to his son who usually has greater capabilities of adaptation.

By tradition the man is the absolute master of all that happened in his home. But the picture is fast changing now. Both husband and wife begin equally as they work outside the family to earn their livelihood. People from rural areas have also started experiencing the changes initiated by the urban people. To assess what the Chakmas feel about his working wife an attempt was made to gauge the attitude of male members among the respondents towards the wife working outside the family. The answer to this question is shown in Table No. 4.2.

TABLE No. 4.2 :: Respondents' Attitude Towards  
their wife working outside the family.

Attitude	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	62 (54.86)	24 (38.09)	35 (55.55)	28 (37.33)	149 (51.91)
No	46 (40.70)	34 (53.96)	23 (36.50)	35 (46.66)	138 (48.08)
Unmarried	3 (2.65)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (13.33)	19 (6.05)
Widow	2 (1.76)	4 (6.34)	-	2 (2.66)	8 (2.58)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

From the above table it is seen that out of a total of 314 respondents we had interviewed 287 are male married members. Out of which 149 (51.91%) opined that they would like their wife working outside the family. 138 (48.08%) replied negatively. Normally tribal women work outside the house, but nearly 48% did not want their women work shows that they are imitating the Bengali people who do not also want their wives work outside.

#### Marriage

The institution of marriage leads to the formation of a universal and primary group the family. According to Malinowski, "In reality marriage is the most important legal contract in every human society, the one which refers to the continuity of the race : it implies a most delicate and difficult adjustment of passionate and emotional relationship with domestic and economic co-operation; it involves the cohabitation of male and female; personally attracted and yet in many ways far even incompatible; it focuses in a difficult personal relationship of two people the interests of wider groups; of the progeny, of their parents of their kindred, and in fact of the whole community." (Malinowski : 1974 : 945). William N. Stephens says, "marriage is a legitimate sexual union,



begun with a public announcement and undertaken with some idea of permanence; it is assumed with a more or less explicit marriage contract, which spells out reciprocal rights and obligations between spouses and their future children." (William M. Stephens, 1963 : 5). Stephen narrates that marriage is begun with a public announcement, he refers to the ritual and ceremonial aspects of marriage. The ritual and ceremonies connected with marriage vary in different societies and cultures. The nature and extent of these ceremonies is also affected by the type of society, that is, whether it is traditional or modern. In a traditional society such rituals and ceremonies are very elaborate, whereas in the case of modern society, there is a tendency to reduce their number. There is a generally held belief that the educated people tend to have more secular ideas as compared to the uneducated persons. Under the influence of modern outlook the educated people do not attach a great importance to various rituals and ceremonies. More than a decade ago, no marriage could have been performed without 'Chungulang Puja'. (stated in religious Chapter). In this puja sacrificing a pig is common. The bride and bridegroom are to bow down before the beheaded pig in order to pay respect to the deity of Chungulag. Educated people consider this sort of Puja as baseless and a superstition.

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Instead, currently the marriage ceremonies are being performed according to Buddhist rituals. It has, therefore, been observed that the educated people regard the traditional marriage rituals and ceremonies as superfluous and antiquated.

#### Marriage Forms

The Chakmas generally abide by the monogamic rules of marriage. But there are a few instances of polygamy. Child marriages among the Chakmas or indeed among the tribal people in the district are generally unknown. There is no fixed time for getting married. It is not obligatory to marry within the tribe for men only. A Chakma woman is not allowed to marry outside her tribe, race or religion.

#### Traditional Marriage

When a Chakma boy reaches a marriageable age his parents or guardians choose a suitable girl and negotiations are opened with her parents through an intermediary. Should these prove successful, the boys' parents proceed to the intended daughter-in-law's house taking with them a bottle of wine. At first they carry on general conversation and the main topic regarding the matter of an alliance opened cautiously. Should all go well they retire after

mutual civilities. At the time of negotiations omens are carefully observed and many a promising match has been put to a stop by unfavourable auguries. A woman carrying water is a good omen and pleasant to meet with; if they are unfortunate enough to come upon the dead body of any animal on the road, they will go no further, but at once return home and stop all proceedings. Old people quote numerous stories wherein people who disregarded the unfavourable omens in former times had faced ruinous consequences.

If the negotiations progressed satisfactorily without any dissent the boy's party make a second visit a few days later. During this visit the details are settled and a suitable day for the ceremony is fixed (generally after the harvest time). A ring of betrothal is given to the bride at that time. On the day preceding the marriage a procession of men and women start from the bridegrooms's house with drums and music to fetch home the bride. They take with them presents of clothes and jewellery. That night the bride is adorned with her new clothes and jewellery and in some affluent families the whole night is spent on festivities. The next day, after the morning meal, the bride is taken away accompanied by some of her relations to her new home.

On arriving any younger close relative of the bridegroom, will wash the feet of the bride and a senior female member generally, mother of the bridegroom will escort the bride to the house and in the evening the actual ceremony takes place. The bride and the bridegroom are made to sit together - the bride on the left of her husband and two of their relations a man and a woman (Shavala) will bind the couple together with a white cloth asking "Are all willing, and shall this be accomplished"; then all cry out, 'bind them, bind them.' So they are bound. The bridegroom has then to place cooked rice and eggs in the mouth of the bride and she has to do the same to him. Then next day early in the morning the bride has to bring water in a pitcher and b'jah performs the "Hungulung Puja (discussed in religion chapter). At the time of the morning meal the newly married couple come hand in hand and salute the elderly relatives and seek blessings for their happy conjugal life. After some days, the young couple revisit the wife's village generally.

#### Change in the Marriage System

But due to spread of education and modernization of the region the traditional marriage pattern has totally changed. At the time of marriage ceremony

the educated bride and bridegroom wear saree and blouse, pant and shirt respectively. However, in the rural areas a bride wears saree and blouse and bridegroom wears a shirt and lungi. The wedding house is decorated with different coloured papers. Many people irrespective of race and colour are invited for the ceremony. In case when a boy and a girl elope, civil marriage by registration is done. Thus marriage by registration is a major change in Chakma society. According to Leslie, "continuity and change in human experience are unending. People are born into families, grow up in them, marry and create families for their own children. Such generation improvises on the cultural script provided to it and alters the style of life of its predecessor, sometimes almost indiscernibly and sometimes drastically." (Leslie and Leslie, 1977 : 1). Though marriage in traditional Chakma society takes place within the homogeneous norms, people today are challenging them by expressing a desire in selecting the mate from groups other than theirs.

Generally, in the traditional marriage much emphasis is laid on the homogeneous factors in respect of religion and race. Now-a-days, the Chakmas sometimes marry outside their religious fold. The number of these are however, very few and invariably this kind of marriage takes place amongst the educated persons.

The unmarried respondents from the sample preferred to select their wives according to their choice. This change was due to education and occupation. This has influenced their decision making ability and developed their sense of individuality. Thus parental authority is challenged showing a trend of breaking away from . . . . .

#### Marriage Pattern

One of the most significant aspects is to study the marriage pattern of the Chakma people.

Table No. 4.3 presents the data regarding pattern of marriage of the married respondents. Out of 295 married respondents, 133 (42.33%) of them married by parents with the consent of the person, while 92 (29.29%) solely by their parents' choice, 54 (17.19%) marriages took place by mutual choice of bride and bridegroom with the consent of parents, 15 (5.09%) marriages were arranged by mutual choice of bride and bridegroom.

TABLE No. 4.3 :: Marriage Pattern of Respondents

Marriage Pattern	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal chari	Total
Solely by parents	27 (23.69)	31 (49.20)	19 (30.15)	15 (20.00)	92 (29.29)
By parents with person's consent	57 (50.44)	23 (36.50)	28 (44.44)	25 (33.33)	133 (42.35)
Actual choice with consent of parents	19 (16.81)	8 (12.69)	11 (17.46)	16 (21.33)	54 (17.19)
Actual choice by bride / groom	7 (6.19)	-	-	9 (12.00)	16 (5.09)
Unmarried	3 (2.65)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (13.33)	19 (6.05)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

When we consider the type of marriage desired by the unmarried respondents, we find from the data shown in Table No. 4.4 that none of the unmarried respondents desired their marriage to be arranged entirely by their parents. But 5 (1.91%) wanted their

TABLE No. 4.4 : Type of marriage desired by the  
Unmarried Respondents

Marriage Pattern	Ranga- meti	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Solely by parents	-	-	-	-	-
By parents with persons' consent	-	1 (1.59)	1 (1.59)	4 (5.33)	6 (1.91)
Mutual choice with the consent of parents	1 (0.88)	-	2 (3.17)	4 (5.33)	7 (2.22)
Mutual choice by bride/ groom	1 (1.76)	-	2 (3.17)	3 (2.65)	6 (1.91)
Married	110 (97.34)	62 (98.41)	58 (92.06)	65 (86.66)	295 (93.94)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

parents to fix the marriage with their consent. Quite a few respondents 7 (2.22%) expressed their views that they want to marry girls of their own choice and marry after taking their parents' consent, whereas 6 (1.91%)



opined that marriage should be decided exclusively by mutual choice of bride and bridegroom.

the parameters for selection of life partners were studied for married and unmarried respondents. They were confined to certain factors such as education, status of the family, character and beauty. The answers to this question from the married respondents have been given in the following table.

TABLE 4.5 :: Parameters for selection of Life Partners of the married respondents

Conditions	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Education	43 (38.05)	3 (4.76)	28 (44.44)	14 (19.66)	88 (28.02)
Status of the family	20 (17.69)	36 (57.14)	12 (19.04)	24 (32.00)	92 (29.29)
Character	33 (29.20)	17 (26.98)	10 (15.87)	15 (20.00)	75 (23.88)
Beauty	14 (12.38)	6 (9.52)	8 (12.69)	12 (16.00)	40 (12.73)
Unmarried	3 (2.63)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (13.33)	19 (6.05)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

In urban areas Rangamati and Khagrachari, the respondents gave much emphasise on education in selecting their life partner. However, the total percentage of the respondents who emphasized on education was found 88 (28.02%), while 92 (29.29%) of the respondents gave weightage to status of the family as the condition for selection of the partner. 75 (23.88%) stressed on character and 40 (12.73%) on beauty as the condition for selection of the partner. Emphasis on education for a spouse is a major change tending to modernisation.

Again, the unmarried respondents were asked to express their views in this regard.

The data in table 4.6 shows that out of 314 respondents, 19 of them were unmarried. Of them 13 (4.14%) considered education, character and beauty as the conditions for selection of the partner; 3 (0.95%) gave emphasise on character, 2 (0.63%) stressed on beauty of the girl; and only 1 respondent favoured status of the family as the condition for selection of the partner.

However, there are no strict rules among Chakma society for selection of partner among men. The Chakma society is divided and sub-divided into a number of clans and septs, viz-a-viz the structure of

TABLE No. 4.6 :: Conditions for selection of Life

Partner of the Unmarried Respondents

Conditions	Ranga- mati	Karalya- gnari	Khagra- ghari	Kamal ghari	Total
Education	3 (2.65)	-	3 (4.76)	7 (9.33)	13 (4.14)
Status of the family	-	-	-	1 (1.33)	1 (0.31)
Character	-	-	1 (1.59)	2 (2.65)	3 (0.95)
Beauty	-	1 (1.59)	1 (1.59)	-	2 (0.63)
Married	110 (97.34)	62 (98.41)	58 (92.06)	65 (86.66)	295 (93.94)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

marriage are divided into two types - endogamy (marriage within the clan) and exogamy (marriage outside it).

Generally, the Chakma people do not practise endogamy because marriages between members of related clan are forbidden.

"Theoretically marriage is prohibited within seven generations. In practice it is allowed when no

traceable relationship exists within the preceding three or four generations and some information stated marriage can take place with father's sister's daughter, mother's brother's daughter, and mother's sister's daughter. Levi Strauss's Formulation is Borne out in Chakma Society. (Levi Strauss : 1975 : 19)

In the traditional marriage system certain social norms were followed specially in case of selecting the life partner. But now-a-days the Chakma boys marry outside the community belonging to different religions. The number of this type of marriages, however, are very few and these marriages are accepted in the society. But in case of marriage of a girl with outsiders belonging to other religion and race the matter is severely dealt with. Recently, some cases of elopement of girls with non-tribals of different religion and race took place among the educated people. The reasons for such occurrences as given by the respondents are listed below:

(1) Generally, the plains people are economically better off than the Chakma people. Hence the girls get fascinated by the economic status of the outsiders.

(2) Due to emotion domination the girls fall in love with non-tribal boys.

(3) Trend of modern outlook is another reason which encourages them to choose outsiders.

(4) Sometimes, the girls are misguided by friends, neighbours and relatives with ill motives.

(5) Due to poverty the girls are trapped by the outsiders.

(6) The district became an abode of heterogeneous section of people, which polluted the environment of the region.

(7) A number of girls are taking higher education in colleges and universities. During this time they mix with boys from different races. Subsequently, they fall in love and run away to get married. Here propinquity plays a major role.

(8) Some girls do not want to get married at a proper time. The reasons for unwillingness is the lack of suitable boys. When age increases they consider outsiders as an alternative choice since they could not get boys from their own community.

(9) Some guardians encourage their daughters to mix with non-tribals and make self choice marriages.

(10) The girls who have no fellow feeling of their own community intend to marry outsiders.

(11) Pompous conversation of the boys sometimes stimulates the girl to get married without thinking of their consequences.

(12) The Chakmas are docile and also their womenfolk. Due to docility the girls are victimised by the outsiders.

(13) Above all, the lack of strict social principles is one of the main reasons which initiated such types of marriages with non-tribals. The girl who eloped with an outsider cannot come to the community, but her guardians are not socially punished.

However, all marriages of the Chakmas are not happy. Often a boy and a girl have decided to get married, but the parents are averse to the idea. In such cases, the lovers generally elope; but should the girls' parents be against the match, they have the right to demand back and take their daughter from the hands of her lover. In this case, the delinquents are punished. In case a boy elopes with a girl, he has to pay a fine of Tk.25.00, a pig and several bottles of wine (rice beer). The girl has to give a cock and Tk.15/-. If they elope again the fine is repeated. After a few similar occasions the marriage is conceded. The young husband makes a present to his father-in-law according to his means, gives a feast to his new

relatives, and is formally admitted into kinship, but pre-marital sex is not allowed in the Chakma society.

#### Type of Marriage

It has been observed that education and modernisation of the area have helped in changing the attitudinal pattern of the respondents. The educated respondents are becoming more secular with modern outlook as compared to the illiterates. However, the illiterate respondents in the rural areas are still strongly bound with social norms and they are aware of the social sanctions which become operative in case of any deviation.

In order to ascertain the views of respondents regarding types of marriage opinion was sought from them as to which type of marriage they considered most suitable. The answer to this question from the married respondents is given in Table No. 4.7. Here, it is seen that a great number of married respondents consisting of 183 (58.28%) said the religious monk officiated at the wedding. This is the most modern form of marriage in the Chakma society at present, and 112 (35.65%) respondents were in favour of traditional marriage. In urban Rangamati and Khagrachari the respondents in majority (83.37% and 73.03% respectively) had a wedding officiated by a Buddhist monk, while the rural respondents

TABLE No. 4.7 :: Respondents' views regarding Types  
of Marriage (Married)

Type of Marriage	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Traditional	17 (15.04)	43 (68.25)	12 (19.04)	40 (53.33)	112 (35.66)
By Buddhist Monk	93 (82.30)	19 (30.15)	46 (73.01)	25 (33.33)	183 (58.28)
Civil marriage by registra- tion	3 (2.65)	1 (1.59)	5 (7.93)	10 (10.33)	19 (6.05)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

TABLE No. 4.8 :: Respondents' views regarding Types  
of Marriage (Unmarried)

Type of Marriage	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Traditional	-	1 (1.59)	1 (1.59)	4 (5.33)	6 (1.91)
By Buddhist Monk	3 (2.65)	-	4 (6.34)	6 (8.00)	13 (4.14)
Civil marriage by registra- tion	-	-	-	-	-
Married	110 (97.34)	62 (98.41)	58 (92.06)	53 (70.66)	295 (93.94)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>



Table 4.8 shows that 13 (4.14%) unmarried respondents expressed their desire for their marriage to be performed by the religious monk and 6 (1.91%) respondents were in favour of traditional marriage. It was observed that in the village area the trend of traditional marriage was still prevailing. No one favoured marriage by registration but this type of marriage occurs when a boy and a girl elope and have to get married by registration in the civil court as they do not have parental support for a traditional wedding.

#### Age at Marriage

Another aspect which has been taken into consideration in the present study is that of age at marriage. In the traditional Chakma society there was no custom of child marriage nor is there a prescribed age for marriage. Usually, when the boys and girls attain the age of puberty marriages take place.

In order to secure information about the views of respondents regarding the age at marriage, the respondents were asked to mention the age they considered proper for the marriage of boys and girls. The views of the respondents regarding the proper age of marriage for boys has been presented in Table 4.9.

TABLE No. 4.9 : Respondents' views regarding proper  
Age of marriage for boys

Age in years	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
16 - 19	-	11 (17.46)	3 (4.76)	7 (11.11)	21 (6.68)
20 - 23	19 (16.81)	26 (41.26)	20 (31.74)	22 (34.92)	87 (27.70)
24 - 25	70 (61.94)	22 (34.92)	32 (50.79)	44 (69.84)	168 (53.50)
26 and above	24 (21.23)	4 (6.34)	8 (12.69)	2 (3.17)	38 (12.10)
TC AL :	113	63	63	75	314

It is seen from the above table that 168 (53.50%) respondents were of the view that the proper age for marriage of boys was in the age group of 24-25 years; 87 (27.70%) respondents favoured 20-23 age group as proper age of marriage; 38 (12.10%) were in favour of marriage at the age of 26 years and above and only 21 (6.68%) were of the view that the proper age for marriage is in the age group of 16-19 years.

As regards the views of respondents about the proper age of marriage for girls the data has been presented in Table 4.10.

TABLE No. 4.10 :: Respondents' views regarding  
proper age of marriage for girls.

Age in years	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
16 - 19	60 (53.09)	57 (97.47)	59 (93.65)	47 (62.66)	223 (71.01)
20 - 23	45 (39.82)	6 (9.52)	4 (6.34)	28 (37.33)	83 (26.43)
24 - 25	8 (7.67)	-	-	-	8 (2.54)
26 and above	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL	113	63	63	75	314

The data in the above table reveals that 223 (71.01%) respondents are of the view that the proper age of marriage for girls is 16-19 years age group. 83 (26.43%) opined that the age at marriage should be within 20-23 age group and 8 (2.54%) were in favour of marriage between 24-25 years. The analysis given above shows that the attitudes regarding the proper age at marriage of girls and boys is showing an upward trend and it is happening due to urbanisation and education.

This has been stated clear in Chapter III that in 1961 and 1974 age at marriage for either sex has showed an upward trend among the Chakmas.

#### Size of the Family

The modern trend of every educated spouse is to have a small family consisting of one or two children. This idea is accepted mainly by the urban area people but in rural area more children are still encouraged. Therefore, in order to know what they considered as ideal size of the family the respondents were asked to express their opinion about it.

TABLE No. 4.11 : Respondents' Views about the ideal Size of the Family

No. of children	Rangamati	Karalya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal-chari	Total
1 - 2	52 (46.01)	15 (23.87)	25 (39.68)	18 (24.00)	110 (35.03)
3 - 5	61 (53.98)	46 (73.01)	30 (47.61)	51 (68.00)	188 (59.87)
6 and above	-	2 (3.17)	8 (12.59)	6 (8.00)	16 (5.09)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

The above table shows that 188 (59.87%) respondents like to have 3-5 children and 16 (5.09%) are in favour of having 6 or more children. They opined that having more children would enhance their status and economic assets therefore, it would be better to have more children. Only 110 (35.03%) respondents said that they like to have 1-2 children so that they could be looked after properly. Even though 1/3rd of the respondents preferred small family norm, majority of the respondents, however, preferred to have more number of children.

#### Choice of Partner for the Children

Social changes takes place not by a single factor. Changes in the social structure are generally preceded by changes in the thought patterns. With a view to assess the changes of thought patterns the respondents were asked to mention whether they would allow their children to select their own life partner. The responses are shown in Table 4.12.

It is seen from the table No. 4.12 that out of 314 respondents 111 (35.35%) were found to be in favour of giving freedom to choose their partner to their children. As compared to those of rural people, it was observed that the educated persons are becoming more liberal in their views regarding some of the social norms.

TABLE No. 4.12 :: Respondents' view regarding Marital Freedom for their children - Granting of marital freedom to children.

	Range- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Favour	61 (53.98)	8 (12.69)	23 (35.50)	19 (25.33)	111 (35.35)
Do not favour	52 (46.01)	55 (87.37)	40 (63.49)	56 (74.66)	203 (64.64)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

Traditionally, children in the Chakma society are not granted any freedom in the selection of their life partner. The parents arrange the marriages and their children have to abide by their choice. The present study, however, reveals that the views of the people in this regard are undergoing a change. It may, therefore, be pointed out that the future generations are bound to face less rigid norms regarding the individual's choice in the selection of the life partners, due to modern outlook of the partners.

### Family Planning Programs and Practices

Population control and family planning in this region is carried out by the Assistant Director of Family Planning. The Upa-Zilla (Sub-District) Family Planning Officer is responsible for day to day administration and particularly for information, education and motivation work. He is also responsible for staff training reporting and for maintaining birth and death registers. He supervises the medical aspects of the programme and carries out sterilisation.

At Union level, there are male Family Planning Assistants at each Union ( ) who has to undergo a three months training to carry out information, education and motivation work among the male segment in the community. They are also supposed to follow up vasectomy cases and family planning acceptors. They maintain contact between field level activities and Upa-Zilla Offices, co-ordinating the work in their Unions participating in meetings and referring cases to the clinics.

There are Family Welfare Assistants (FWAs) mainly among women who work at ward level after one month training. Their duty is to make routine visits for information and motivation, register birth and deaths,

check on clients with tubectomies and refer cases to the clinics.

Family Welfare Visitors (FWVs) are trained for 18 months to carry out deliveries as well as to provide with pre and post-natal care including family planning services.

The structure of the population control and Family Planning Programme at the field level seems to be organised well, however, total activity rate does not seem to be encouraging. Occasionally, sterilization camps are organised and few cases of vasectomies and tubectomies are carried out.

An attempt was made to collect information on knowledge of family planning from the respondents. Table No. 4.13 shows that 137 (43.03%) respondents have much knowledge on family planning and 92 (29.29%) have little knowledge whereas 85 (27.67%) have no knowledge on family planning at all. From the analysis it is clear that Family Planning Programme is adapted more in the urban areas than those of rural areas. In Kangamati alone 84 (74.33%) respondents were found to have knowledge of family planning methods and rest of the respondents knew little of family planning. It proves that urban area people have changed their outlook and are imbibing modernization by coming in



contact with the modern way of life. In Khagrachari knowledge of Family Planning among respondents is not encouraging, but it is perceived that these people are also adopting the programme gradually. In Kamalchari village which is near to Khagrachari town family planning programme is becoming more popular. Thus it can be said that modern way of outlook is adopted by the people.

TABLE No. 4.13 :: Respondents' Knowledge of Family Planning

Knowledge on Family Planning	Ranga-mati	Karalya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal-chari	Total
Much	84 (74.33)	7 (11.11)	29 (45.03)	17 (22.66)	137 (43.63)
Little	29 (25.65)	-	18 (28.57)	45 (60.00)	92 (29.29)
No knowledge	-	56 (88.88)	16 (25.39)	13 (17.33)	85 (27.07)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

The respondents were also asked to express their opinion regarding the importance of family planning and whether Family Planning Programmes should

be intensified in the region? The answer to this question is shown in Table 4.14.

Table No. 4.14 :: Distribution of Respondents' views on Family Planning.

Views	Ranga- meti	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Encouraged	98 (77.87)	15 (23.80)	42 (66.66)	39 (52.00)	184 (58.59)
Discouraged	17 (15.04)	36 (57.14)	19 (30.15)	30 (40.00)	102 (32.48)
Undecided	8 (7.67)	12 (19.04)	2 (3.17)	6 (8.00)	28 (8.91)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

The above Table shows that 184 (58.59%) respondents think that Family Planning should be encouraged and for that the officials of the department must be more active in promoting the programme. It was observed that the middle income group in urban areas is practising Family Planning. 102 (32.48%) respondents discouraged Family Planning and argued that there is no need for them to undertake the measures. Unfortunately we are unable to clarify the point whether the reasons

put forward by the respondents are purely psychological or technical. For example, some of the respondents expressed their views that the children are the gift of God so they have nothing to do against natural happenings. Some respondents felt that self control is the best means of birth control. Newly wed couples are looking forward to having children. So they did not adopt family planning. But more significant finding was that a considerably large number of respondents have a fear or apprehension of using the family planning techniques. There were 28 (8.91%) respondents, who could not decide as they are unaware of the methods. However, the Family Planning Programme is slowly becoming popular among the Chakmas. This programme is being adopted more by urban area people than that of rural people. With the influence of urbanisation and the contact with town people villagers are also encouraging this programme to be adopted now-a-days.

#### Divorce and Separation

Once married, the Chakma women are said to be good and faithful wives, and it is unusual for the village council to be called upon to exercise its

power of granting a divorce. Such cases, however, do occur frequently. In our survey there was not a single case of divorce or separation. The terms and conditions of the divorce are decided by the Headman in consultation with other elderly persons. If a man divorces his wife without any fault, he has to give her all the ornaments and dresses and the nursing babies. The other children are free to choose with whom they want to stay. If the whole thing proves too complicated for the Headman's wisdom then the case is referred to the Chief for arbitration. The Chief at his discretion, is the ultimate authority who disposes of the matter. However, until the divorced wife remarries, she is entitled to compensation and her children will inherit the property. On remarriage she forfeits all her rights.

A widow is allowed to marry a second time. In this case the ceremony is simple, consisting mainly of a feast.

The following may be summed up as grounds for divorce in the Chakma society.

- (1) Barrenness
- (2) Successive deaths of children
- (3) Permanent sexual disability

- (4) Unwillingness to perform sexual act
- (5) Unwillingness to continue family life
- (6) Adultery and desertion

On the other hand the wife, also can divorce her husband for his inability to provide food for the household, for cruelty and severe beating and also in case of inability to perform the sexual act.

We have observed that among the Chakmas the nuclear family system is prevalent but some characteristics of joint family types are also common. The joint family is losing its intrinsic function gradually which it had possessed from time immemorial. In the nuclear family generally it includes husband and wife, their children and some relatives.

In the present study a number of factors are taken into account for changing the Chakma joint family into nuclear family such as economy, education and ecological factor. Family authority has changed. This is due to education, experience and more earning by the younger generation than the old fashioned parents and elder brothers. They are losing their importance in the family. Due to rapid technological progress, experience of the old generation has lost much of its value.

Marriage pattern has changed due to spread of education and modernisation. Wedding dress has also changed but in the rural areas the traditional attire is still prevalent. Marriage is not taking place within the homogenous norms, rather selection is being made from persons of different groups. Religion and race is not given much importance now-a-days, but is confined to men only.

Most of the marriages of the Chakmas are nonogamous though there are a very few instances of polygamy. Under the influence of modern outlook the educated people do not attach much importance to various traditional rituals and ceremonies regarding marriage system.

Regarding size of the family the educated modern spouse desire to have a small family consisting of one or two children. This view is held in urban areas only. This change of idea is due to interaction of the Chakmas with the Bengali people and modern outlook. However, in the rural areas still more children is preferred.

Family planning is practised in the Chittagong hill tracts and the Chakmas both rural and urban areas could realise the importance of it. Divorce and separation are not common. We could not find out

is no indication in this report of about world wide relations between and other technical, biological, and other industrial progress & geographical and the political in the past

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# Chapter V

## Agriculture

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CHAPTER VAGRICULTURE

The Mode of Production

Pattern of Cultivation :

- 1) Slash and Burn Cultivation
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Irrigation

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## CHAPTER V

## AGRICULTURE

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The Mode of Production

An account of sociological perspectives on the economic life of the Chakmas would not be complete without a discussion of the mode of production that is practised by them as well as other tribes in the district of Chittagong Hill tracts. Their economic life deals with the activities associated with the fulfilment of material needs of the people. Every community has its own way to meet the basic needs for the existence of its members. The basic needs of a society are conditioned by natural and cultural factors as well as by technology. In the study of the economic life of the tribals most of the general economic theories are not relevant, because tribal economy has certain unique characteristics.

However, "A mode of production is an articulated combination of relations and forces of production

structured by the dominance of the relations of production." (Hindess and Hirst, 1975 : 9). Asoka Rudra writing on the mode of production of India opined that the concept of mode of production should be avoided because it has become confused and defined in a variety of ways. He described that, "Given the same body of facts different scholars describe different modes as dominant and there is no means of disproving anybody as there are no agreed criteria for determining dominance among modes (Asoka Rudra, 1978 : 917). We shall not enter into a controversy about the definition of the concept of mode of production here. However, our aim is to focus on the mode of production that prevails in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. "By mode of production here, we mean the sources institutions, structure and forces of production of material life, the forms of co-operation, decision-making for the development and use of labour power, the determination of the economic objectives and the super-structure of the society." (Kahmen, A., 1982 : 32).

If we call these societies as 'subsistence economy', 'non-market economy', or 'peasant economy' we do scant justice to the explanation of the actual working of the productive forces, because these societies are having at least some sort of economic surplus. It is, therefore, difficult to determine the nature of

economic condition even the dwellers in it will not be able to depict the nature correctly.

The economy of the Chakmas is predominantly agriculture. The overall mode of production in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is based on a non-monetized semi-feudal peasant economy where the system of independent domestic economy prevails. The concept of semi-feudal mode of production has been used by many scholars to characterise the production relations and productive forces of many countries. Amit Bhaduri is perhaps the chief exponent who gave the idea of semi-feudalism. His concept of description of semi-feudalism is based on West Bengal in India. According to him, the basic features of semi-feudalism are as follows;

"(1) an extensive non-legalized share-cropping system;

(2) perpetual indebtedness of the small tenants;

(3) the characteristic feature of the ruling class, in rural areas - they operate both as landowners and lenders to small tenants;

(4) the specific historical character of rural markets, where small tenants have incomplete access to the market and are forcibly involved in involuntary exchange through the peculiar organisation of this sort of markets." (Bhaduri, 1973 : 11).

keeping in pace with Bhaduri we can analyse some of the concepts regarding semi-feudalism that prevail in this district. We found that money lender and businessman who are mostly outsiders (the Bengalis) deceived the innocent people in many ways. The local landowners play the role of a landlord and appropriate a fixed quantity from the landless or semi-landed farmers in the form of rents, usurious interests and speculative trading profits. The landowners lease out lands to the landless and provide them with loans for production and consumption purposes. The tenants were made to repay the loan with higher interests at the time of harvest when the prices of agricultural produce remained usually low.

The Chakma society possesses some characteristics such as peasant division of labour within the household, supply of basic non-agricultural requirements which are important prerequisites for classifying it as an example of peasant society. A peasant society is composed primarily of people who make their living by agriculture and who live in symbiotic interdependence with market towns or urban areas though living away from them. (Kroeber, 1948 ; Redfield, 1957). A peasant household is characterised by a nearly total integration of the peasant family's life and its farming enterprise (Chauin, 1971 : 322).

In Chittagong Hill Tracts the production is geared to 'production for use', rather than 'production for exchange'. It does not mean that there is total self sufficiency and there is no exchange. There is exchange but in a limited extent mainly relating to 'secondary' goods. Primary products are undertaken purely as utilitarian trade for the requirement rather than for profit. The people produce material for their livelihood and exchange is minimal for a few items of goods, which cannot be produced domestically. Here 'use value' is the dominating force while 'exchange value' is negligible in the economic activity. "Thus in contrast to the capitalist process where the transformation of a given sum of money into more and more money by way of the commodity is central so that the relationship is  $M \longrightarrow C \longrightarrow M'$ , where  $M' > M$  in the producer's relation to the productive process of goods of the specific useful character are produced and the simple circulation of commodities is  $C \longrightarrow M \longrightarrow C'$  so that primary goods are produced for domestic use mainly while a part is exchanged in the market for money to purchase other commodities. For that part of commodity which is exchanged, it is not necessary that  $C' > C$  as the rate of exchange may not be an important consideration. In some cases the exchange

may take place as part of social obligation without entering the market." (Rahman, 1982 : 33).

There is a contrast between 'production for use' and the 'produce for exchange' as they differ in both qualitative and quantitative terms. "In qualitative terms in the production for use man is central for whom production is undertaken in the production for exchange it is production which is central and is the main concern of man. In quantitative terms production for use is " discontinuous and irregular, and on the whole sparing of labour power while the production for exchange gives rise to competition and higher output, productivity and profit." (Rahman, 1982 : 33).

This however, does not mean that the society of the Chittagong Hill Tracts is demoted to a status of mere consumption or in a state of under consumption leading to a life of hardship and poverty of the people. Although, most societies are in a subsistence level only in terms of independence from the market, yet some segment of them are enjoying considerable material well being. Likewise there exists no system of communism or social ownership of the means of production as there is individual ownership of land and property. In a transitional society where the population pressure is considered as a characteristic feature of the economy, it does not



contradict the existence of a large section of landless population with the system in these societies.

The doctrine of international imperialism is also irrelevant due to the total absence of export sector. Even the theory of social dualism of J.M. Boeke (1953 : 4) as an attack or a sentimental defence of the Buddhist Economics by Schumacher (1974 : 44-51) does scant justice to the inner working of these complex societies.

Moreover, Wittfogel 'hydraulic society' was absent here, the government was laxus in developmental activities and the tribal system was the focal point of legal and social norms. The tribal authority was not bounded by the territorial border and extended to the families of the respective clans until 1884, when the jurisdictions of the tribal chiefs were defined.

The family or the household in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is the centre of decision making and the institution of production where decision is taken on how much and what to produce on land owned by the household unit. It also determines the particular division of labour among the members of the household. Women's participation in agriculture activity is quite significant and child labour is common specially in

cattle grazing and some other economic pursuits. Women participate side by side with men in the field as well as do all the household works. In the Chittagong Hill Tracts women labour participation is the highest among all the districts of Bangladesh. According to Rahman, "labour participation is highest in the Chittagong Hill Tracts among all the districts of Bangladesh and in 1974 average earner per household was recorded as 2.18 out of the average size of household of 5.13 as against 1.33 earner per household and 5.83 members in the household for Bangladesh. Women work on average more than men and a considerable portion of their time is spent on expenditure saving activities over and above that spent for income generation." (Rahman, 1982 : 37). The Chakma women work in the field and have started working in the income generating activities viz., in the educational institutions and other government organisations and autonomous bodies. Agriculture is the main occupation of the tribal societies. Farming and animal husbandry are the dominant activities in their agriculture. Horticulture and fruit tree cultivation on bumpy lands are also undertaken where rehabilitation and settlement schemes were initiated. By and large, the people can be divided into three categories viz., the landlords, the peasant producers and the landless cultivators. It is worth mentioning

in this connection that when the Chittagong Hill Tracts was thrown officially open to all in 1964, a considerable acreage of land passed over to non-locals through several legal loopholes. It has become possible for the non-locals to purchase land at higher prices than the locals who cannot afford to spend more.

The economic structure of the people has begun to alter since the gradual infiltration of the non-local Bengalis in the district. The encroachment tendency of the new settlers (the Bengalis) on the land of the tribals made them to lease out their lands to the non-locals on a lump sum amount.

During the British Colonial tale the tribal headman was a patriarch, who had a command and control over the tribe. The socio-economic religious, political authority rested upon the headman. This system is no longer in existence now. With the introduction of household economy the process of commercial decision system has vanished. The family units are based on the principle of self sufficiency in production of grains. It is characterised by priority of cultivation of basic cereals. There is low level of productivity and a high sensitivity to variations in productivity are noticed. "The amount of food production and food reserve are the only guarantee for household against

the risk of hunger, malnutrition and starvation. For a family the seasonality in production and more importantly the need to survive a bad harvest due to climatic vagaries is not a simple problem of cash flows as in the developed countries. In the backward regions the means to secure the family against such calculated and unforeseen risks are mainly through its own reserves and productions." (Pierre Spitz; 1982). In case of necessity, people could depend on forest which gave them directly or indirectly a substantial amount of their livelihood. They subsist on edible leaves and roots, honey, wild game and fish. They built their houses with timber and bamboo from the forest. They practice cottage crafts utilising the local raw materials. By and large, they husbanded the forest as a resource for fulfilling their basic needs and drives and optimised its use as a balanced productive eco-system; hunting wild life and eating roots and fruits as and when they are available. But now-a-days they do not get even subsistence from the forest. The forest which was the shelter for fulfilling their basic needs and had been used for shifting cultivation became a settlement area of the Bengalis who are rehabilitated here from different parts of the country. And so, the vulnerability of the small and marginal farmer households is particularly severe where the capacity to absorb the shock is the

least. It is, therefore, discernible why the tribal people in the district cling so desperately to a system of self provisioning. The monetization of the economy can mainly be ascribed to the pauperization of most of the tribal population.

There are about 80 market places and bazaars in rural and urban areas as economic centres in the district which are owned, run and controlled by the Bengali population. An economic centre in the present context is defined as a site, a market place or "... an institutional arena where goods and services are matched against each other for maximum returns to buyers and sellers of the commodities." (Nash, M., 1966 : 29). Elsewhere, it is called as 'primary economic centre.' (Agrawal, B.B., 1970 : 232).

Once or twice in a week these markets are held. Most of the tribal people do not come to the market with cash in hand. Instead, they bring some of the farm products such as rice, ginger, turmeric, oilseeds, fruits (mainly pineapples and bananas) and to a lesser extent cotton. The crop buying traders generally sit on the outskirts of the market and the incoming tribal rarely escapes them without encountering the crop buying or animal buying (cows, oxen, buffaloes, goats and chicken) traders. The tribal incomers quickly dispose of their

commodities to the buy rs. Since the tribal has carried a few kilos of grain on the head and shoulder for a couple of miles, he is anxious to dispose of the grain as soon as he reaches the periphery of the market. Instead, they purchase the required goods for home consumption such as kerosene, salt, sugar, cigarettes, molasses, bidies, matches, soaps, cotton yarn, edible oil, dry fish and cloth (including second hand clothes and woollen garments) in the market.

The traders deceive the farmers and make profit. The 'rule of thumb' is to weigh incorrectly (on a traders balance, two kilos of grain would weigh only 1½ kilos or even less). Another interesting aspect of the traders is the method by which they fix the prices of incoming 'local goods' specially raw materials i.e., turmeric, jute, mustard seeds. The absence of legal agency for fixing up the prices of incoming goods made the local traders monopolise the business and thus the innocent tribal people are exploited and deprived them of real income from the crops.

In the case of horticulture and fruit cultivation also the tribal farmers are totally dependent on the market for exchange and the income generated thus is spent on purchase of provisions. There is a feeling among the tribal people that they are being exploited

by the Bengalis, the monopoly traders in the district. Due to bad transport system the producers cannot carry the fruits to the market all at a time nor the traders can collect the same from small producers, so the perishability of the commodities is perceived.

To add to the above, one can say that the economy of the Chakmas is becoming a monetized economy because it is no more confined with the production for use as production for exchange is remarkably noticed now-a-days. The economy has a target, based on the principle of surplus of production though it is not optimum. The system seems to operate within the market mechanism.

Between 1760 and 1892 the population increased from 1,00,000 to 1,07,286. With the advent of plough cultivation in the late 19th Century the shortage of manpower was felt acutely and for a time the Chakma elites brought Bengali cultivators as share croppers to plough the land. In course of some hundred and fifty years a large number of people have learnt from them the use of the plough. Land as a basic factor of production gained its importance with the spread of settled plough cultivation and from 1921 the farmers were given permanent and heritable rights of the land.

Land scarcity led to its more intense use and crop relation.

Production acreage and output in the Chittagong Hill Tracts for major crops - (rice aus; autumn harvested rice) and aman (or winter harvested rice), boro (also in winter months) and rabi - are given in Table 5.1 for the period from 1947-48 to 1978-79. It can be seen from the table that the acreage outputs of pulse (Mung, Masur and Mashkalai) have declined over the thirty years period, but if compared with the period immediately after 1961-62, when the Kaptai Dam was completed, it remained static. The acreage and production of oil seeds like til and rape mustard have declined. The declining trend is also share for tobacco. It is observed that sugarcane cultivation and output have increased. Cotton which was produced mainly in the jhum has shown a very sharp decline in both acreage and output so much so that since 1976-77 its output is given in bales rather than in tonnage. Thus it is seen that production of cash crops has declined during the last thirty two years. The lack of irrigation facilities and the age old method of cultivation are the main causes for such decline. Still many people of this district are not yet acquainted with modern sophisticated scientific technique to be used for



TABLE No. 5.1 :: Total Acreage under Each Crop in

Years	Aus	Aman	Boro	Maize	Mug	Masur
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1947-48	80,000	30,000	100	1,100	-	-
1948-49	85,000	44,000	100	1,300	500	500
1949-50	82,000	52,000	100	1,400	500	500
1950-51	80,000	60,000	20	1,300	500	500
1951-52	85,600	52,500	20	1,500	-	600
1952-53	88,000	61,000	100	-	-	600
1953-54	1,01,000	61,000	100	1,500	100	600
1954-55	1,02,000	63,000	100	1,400	200	500
1955-56	87,600	62,500	-	1,400	200	400
1956-57	89,300	68,100	-	700	200	100
1957-58	90,300	1,10,100	-	800	100	100
1958-59	79,400	1,07,500	-	900	40	100
1959-60	96,700	1,08,500	-	900	300	200
1960-61	81,300	76,300	400	1,200	200	200
1961-62	76,000	64,300	700	900	200	200
1962-63	80,800	52,800	700	1,000	100	200
1963-64	1,03,900	54,000	500	1,000	100	100
1964-65	98,600	44,200	2,500	870	250	60

contd...

## in Different years in the District of Chittagong Hill

tracts

ash- kalai	Til (winter)	Rape (mustard)	Sugar cane	Cotton	Tabacco	Year
8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
-	30,000	14,500	1,300	55,000	3,000	1947-48
500	30,000	14,000	1,500	55,000	1,000	1948-49
500	30,000	10,000	1,500	55,000	1,000	1949-50
500	30,000	14,300	1,500	55,200	1,000	1950-51
500	30,000	15,000	1,600	56,300	1,500	1951-52
500	30,200	15,000	2,500	58,000	1,600	1952-53
500	30,200	14,500	2,600	58,100	1,800	1953-54
400	30,000	14,000	2,500	58,000	1,700	1954-55
300	30,000	14,800	1,500	51,095	1,300	1955-56
300	26,600	10,000	1,000	52,510	1,300	1956-57
100	28,800	6,000	1,000	51,000	1,500	1957-58
200	32,400	9,000	1,100	51,000	1,400	1958-59
200	33,400	22,000	1,000	51,500	1,400	1959-60
200	22,700	86,000	700	46,570	1,300	1960-61
200	20,000	7,300	500	39,200	1,200	1961-62
200	20,100	7,800	500	39,850	1,300	1962-63
100	20,300	8,300	600	37,700	1,300	1963-64
130	20,200	7,400	600	34,615	1,300	1964-65

contd...

TABLE No. 5.1 : contd..

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.	7.
1965-66	1,01,000	44,600	3,900	890	100	100
1966-67	1,03,000	46,500	10,170	980	100	90
1967-68	1,19,320	52,580	15,354	1,160	105	95
1968-69	1,21,520	55,870	31,460	1,210	90	95
1969-70	1,28,710	57,280	31,520	1,240	95	100
1970-71	1,21,610	54,810	29,190	1,205	100	100
1971-72	1,17,335	58,840	21,365	1,345	95	85
1972-73	1,01,890	33,940	19,600	1,205	95	90
1973-74	99,170	62,980	19,590	1,280	135	100
1974-75	93,770	58,195	25,670	1,160	140	120
1975-76	1,03,130	60,840	20,650	1,270	155	135
1976-77	72,855	64,875	28,050	1,145	135	150
1977-78	73,560	66,015	25,420	890	133	118
1978-79	90,685	65,440	20,745	860	110	120

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SOURCE : Data upto 1967-68 was taken from Government of  
Chittagong Hill Tracts, 1975 : 86-87 and from  
Statistics of Bangladesh, 1979-80.

8.	9.	10.	11.	12.	13.	14.
200	20,500	7,500	600	36,960	1,500	1965-66
170	21,000	7,620	700	34,960	1,600	1966-67
170	20,610	8,410	740	35,920	1,650	1967-68
200	20,650	8,895	915	34,090	1,675	1968-69
170	20,130	9,070	955	33,390	1,700	1969-70
165	5,915	9,075	860	17,575	1,685	1970-71
170	15,125	6,120	725	27,725	1,670	1971-72
155	14,835	6,030	730	22,340	1,715	1972-73
180	13,710	6,405	1,610	18,580	1,715	1973-74
200	13,250	6,500	1,825	13,000	1,785	1974-75
190	11,645	6,850	1,575	15,220	1,715	1975-76
170	8,765	6,890	1,840	12,930	1,765	1976-77
155	6,575	6,380	1,660	10,230	1,570	1977-78
150	3,185	6,160	1,795	10,445	1,393	1978-79

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Bangladesh, Bangladesh District Gazetteers

1968-69 to 1978-79 taken from the year book of Agricultural

TABLE NO. 5.2 : Production of crops in tons in

Years	Aus rice	Aman rice	Boro rice	Maize	Muj	Musur
1947-48	28,800	10,900	37	405	-	-
1948-49	33,900	24,030	40	475	150	140
1949-50	32,980	28,485	35	565	150	150
1950-51	28,680	30,095	-	385	150	140
1951-52	30,830	23,900	-	445	-	190
1952-53	32,655	27,800	45	500	-	200
1953-54	40,675	27,935	45	495	30	200
1954-55	41,085	28,795	45	440	60	175
1955-56	31,520	25,825	-	440	65	125
1956-57	35,700	31,000	-	200	65	30
1957-58	35,900	45,140	-	200	30	30
1958-59	30,075	44,340	-	250	10	25
1959-60	40,205	59,045	-	255	95	65
1960-61	31,870	20,000	200	330	95	60
1961-62	36,310	47,100	500	248	65	60
1962-63	38,820	27,660	510	376	30	60
1963-64	43,680	27,560	325	295	20	20
1964-65	39,860	22,885	1,560	240	70	15

contd. . .

## different years in Chittagony Hill Tracts

Mash kalai	Til winter	Rice and Mustard	Sugar Cane	Cotton	Tobacco	Year
-	7,700	2,635	18,300	13,750	1,235	1947-48
150	6,950	2,535	28,260	17,700	3,005	1948-49
150	6,560	1,450	25,660	15,434	335	1949-50
160	6,160	2,960	25,615	18,306	306	1950-51
170	7,725	3,085	25,760	17,740	615	1951-52
180	7,790	3,310	45,175	17,120	660	1952-53
165	7,755	3,000	44,960	17,340	785	1953-54
150	7,295	3,040	44,805	17,310	715	1954-55
100	7,360	3,150	22,695	15,265	335	1955-56
95	6,155	2,080	13,000	13,930	430	1956-57
30	6,140	1,200	17,200	13,490	380	1957-58
65	6,660	1,805	18,705	18,182	360	1958-59
65	6,470	4,790	18,390	18,025	310	1959-60
60	4,370	1,565	7,700	19,185	285	1960-61
60	4,115	1,490	6,150	16,504	277	1961-62
60	4,395	1,230	7,095	19,265	300	1962-63
25	4,435	1,510	9,085	15,865	300	1963-64
45	4,145	1,795	14,195	14,570	335	1964-65

contd.

TABLE No. 5.2 : contd.

Years	Aus rice	Aman rice	Boro Rice	Maize	Mug	Musur
1965-66	48,200	24,630	1,630	325	30	35
1966-67	51,100	26,250	6,350	395	25	25
1967-68	61,360	30,860	15,000	470	25	25
1968-69	58,110	32,840	29,695	489	25	25
1969-70	60,160	38,140	30,090	517	28	28
1970-71	44,360	32,485	25,340	486	32	26
1971-72	44,420	32,805	17,020	531	28	21
1972-73	30,915	13,970	15,235	429	25	20
1973-74	37,725	38,335	16,605	517	30	23
1974-75	37,935	33,075	21,863	643	36	26
1975-76	43,795	39,775	14,995	509	37	29
1976-77	32,940	42,675	24,144	460	30	30
1977-78	34,750	46,455	20,100	304	25	25
1978-79	38,480	46,415	15,845	272	29	20

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Production reported in bales.

Sources : Data upto 1967-68 was taken from Government of  
 Mill Tracts, 1975 : pp.86-87 and from 1968-69  
 Statistics of Bangladesh, 1979-80.

Year	Wheat	Paddy	Maize & Mustard	Sugar- cane	Cotton	Tobacco	Year
65	3,955	1,930	16,530	15,557	385		1965-66
50	4,630	2,100	13,450	14,495	440		1966-67
50	4,920	2,315	14,270	14,529	455		1967-68
75	4,930	2,450	17,840	13,142	500		1968-69
63	4,700	2,765	16,980	13,356	510		1969-70
55	1,130	2,765	15,227	6,679	525		1970-71
56	2,723	1,845	11,825	9,704	453		1971-72
45	2,725	1,770	10,965	10,965	7,819		1972-73
45	2,694	1,645	25,730	6,317	428		1973-74
59	2,560	1,860	35,400	6,120	437		1974-75
55	2,160	1,825	27,655	4,565	438		1975-76
45	1,610	1,770	32,985	3,891*	470		1976-77
40	1,210	1,640	30,430	3,274*	385		1977-78
53	505	1,380	30,335	3,551*	295		1978-79

Bangladesh, Bangladesh District Gazetteer,

to 1978-79 taken from the year book of Agricultural



agriculture. This absence of agricultural modernization is the main reason for such crop failure.

Rice is the only exception where the output has increased from 38,937 tons in 1947-48 to 100,740 tons in 1978-79. This increase has been attained by an increase in productivity through high yielding rice varieties. It is found that after the liberation of Bangladesh the production of 'Aus' rice declined but that of the 'Aman' and 'Boro' have increased. Wheat production, which is not shown in the table has been taken up more recently and also insignificant in terms of output.

Table 5.3 shows the districtwise data for the rural areas of Bangladesh with regard to annual per capita income, per capita calorie intake per day. Calorie intake from cereals as a percentage of total calorie intake and expenditure on food and drink as a percentage of total expenditure for 1973-74. The per capita annual income for the rural areas of the district are derived by multiplying by 12 the income per household per month and dividing the figure by the average members in the household. (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1979 : 504). The per capita calorie intake per day for the rural areas of the district were computed from the monthly per capita consumption in

Cash Kharif	Til Kharif	Rice & Mustard	Sugar- cane	Cotton	Tobacco	Year
65	3,955	1,930	16,530	15,557	385	1965-66
50	4,630	2,100	13,450	14,495	440	1966-67
50	4,920	2,315	14,270	14,529	455	1967-68
75	4,930	2,450	17,840	13,142	500	1968-69
63	4,700	2,765	16,980	13,356	510	1969-70
55	1,130	2,765	15,227	6,679	525	1970-71
56	2,723	1,845	11,825	9,704	455	1971-72
45	2,725	1,770	10,965	10,965	7,819	1972-73
45	2,694	1,645	25,730	5,317	428	1973-74
59	2,560	1,860	35,400	6,120	437	1974-75
55	2,160	1,825	27,655	4,565	438	1975-76
45	1,610	1,770	32,985	3,891*	470	1976-77
40	1,210	1,640	30,430	3,274*	385	1977-78
53	505	1,320	30,335	3,551*	295	1978-79

Bangladesh, Bangladesh District Gazetteer,

to 1978-79 taken from the year book of Agricultural

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TABLE NO.5.3 : Inter-District Comparison of Calorie  
intake in Rural Bangladesh, 1973-74.

District	Annual per Capita Income (TAKA)	Per Capita Calorie intake per day	Calorie from cereals as % of total calories intake	Expenditure on food & drink as % of total expenditure
1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Dinajpur	1045.18	1735	89.80	72.99
Rangpur	917.73	1846	91.22	77.71
Meerut	966.79	1925	83.67	76.04
Rajshahi	899.72	1905	91.97	76.76
Pabna	736.39	1500	92.67	77.24
Kushtia	863.73	2047	91.60	78.84
Jessore	903.13	1869	90.10	79.80
Khulna	857.16	1800	91.17	77.16
Barisal	954.86	1960	89.59	76.34
Patuakhali	1484.64	2361	84.79	74.73
Mymensingh	813.74	1629	91.65	76.65
Rangail	1038.21	2021	91.39	75.46
Dacca	1046.58	1948	91.37	73.57
Faridpur	862.42	1861	91.94	77.38
Sylhet	1154.31	1975	90.02	70.80

TABLE No. 5.3 : contd.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.
Comilla	1086.61	1939	90.25	69.32
Noakhali	922.80	1684	93.88	73.18
Chittagong	1055.23	1854	92.91	69.16
Chittagong Hill Tracts	1084.23	1892	89.11	76.57

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SOURCE : Alimur Rahman, Social Development in a Tribal Society, 1982 : p.41.

physical quantity as recorded in the consumption survey reduced to per day figure (Bureau of Statistics, 508). A standard calorie conversion table was used for deriving calorie intake (Agkroyd, 1980 : 195). For mutton for which no calorie conversion was given in the table, it was taken to be 1950 calories per Kg. For chicken and egg, the consumption data was given in number and not in weight which made it difficult to convert them directly to calories. It was, therefore, assumed that an average chicken net of feathers weights 0.59 Kg. (JN.1975 : 159). For eggs, since data was not available separately for chicken and duck, all eggs were assumed to be from chicken with an average weight of 35 grams

(UN : 1975 : 159). The share of calorie from cereals (rice and wheat) in the total calorie intake was also derived. The expenditure on food and drink as a percentage of total expenditure is taken from the household survey (Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics, 1979 : 505).

It is seen from the table that there is no consistent relationship between per capita income and per capita calorie intake among some of the districts. Districts like Bogra, Rajshahi, Kushtia, Jessore, Barisal, Tangail, Dhaka and Faridpur, which have lower per capita income than the Chittagong Hill Tracts showed higher per capita calorie intake. The district under study is in the 10th position in respect of per capita calorie intake per day among all the districts of Bangladesh. The minimum recommended calorie requirement per day is 2,1222 and all the districts except for Patuakhali fall below the scale of the average requirement of the calorie intake.

Bangladesh as a food deficit country has to import substantial amount of foodgrains from different countries. It has to take recourse to food budgeting through food procurement, building up of reserve and supply of food grains and distribution through rationing.

But there is no substantial inflow and outflow of food-grains in the district and the internal market mechanism itself is inadequate; therefore, the calorie intake in the district is essentially linked with the food grain production. Thus, to improve nutritional standard of the tribals special attention for raising food production should be given into this region. More emphasis should be given to adopt high yielding variety of rice in the district as well as the use of modern inputs for increasing the yield of food grains particularly in the area of the use of fertilizers to increase output and calorie intake in future.

#### Pattern of Cultivation

The Chittagong Hill Tracts in terms of ecological environment may be divided into hilly and flat land zones. The ethnic composition, economic occupation and levels of socio-cultural integration have classified the people in their pattern of cultivation into two categories :

- 1) Slash and Burn Cultivation
- 2) Plough Cultivation

The whole of the eastern and western portions of the districts are hilly and were until recently

considered suitable only for jhum cultivation. The southern central and northern parts of the district have some areas suitable for plough cultivation out of which considerable areas have already been submerged by the Karnafuli reservoir.

The rocks, in general, being soft, their disintegration and decomposition into soil, both in the hills and valleys are widespread. Heavy rainfall followed by quick run off, washes the soil of the hill slopes. The process of disintegration goes on and soil replacement takes place. As the soils are relatively young the composition of it is similar to those of the parent rocks.

According to Brammer, "the major limitation to agriculture are the steep slopes, heavy monsoon rainfall and dry season drought. Slopes are generally too steep for clear cultivation of arable crops without terracing, and the latter seems likely to be uneconomical to undertake on a scale, conditions are more suitable for tree crops." (Brammer, 1964 : 21).

#### Slash and Burn Cultivation

Slash and burn cultivation which is also known as Swidden cultivation or shifting cultivation or locally known as jhuming is a primitive type of



agriculture, which was practised by the pioneer agriculturists in many parts of the world and is found to have survived in some areas where it is practised today. The beginning of shifting cultivation goes back to the neolithic times, 8000 - 10,000 years ago. Its origin has often been speculated. Through archaeological discoveries it is known that by about 7000 B.C. there was a fundamental change in man's attitude towards environment and accidentally he became a food producer from a hunter and food gatherer. Man began to plant, cultivate and improve species of a variety of plants by selection and domestication of animals like sheep, goat and cattle started side by side. Gordon Childe identified the neolithic farmers of the Danube Valley as nomadic cultivators (1956). Chang (1970) also proved that the neolithic farmers of Formosa were shifting cultivators (Chang, 1970 : 175).

"With the increase of population during the relatively genial post pleistocene climate, the only possible way of procuring more food which would have occurred to primitive man would have been a shift from hunting to cultivation keeping into consideration the vast stretch of land then available and the nomadic nature of man, the only remedy was to spread a handful of seeds, preferably cereals, small millets, paddy or

barley on some suitable patch of land, allow it to grow through the rainy season and reap it when it was ready. After repeating the process twice when the yield became thin, it would have been wise to shift this process to another patch of land and hence the cycle of shifting cultivation." (Chib, S.S. 1984 : 252). "In the sixth Century A.D. shifting cultivation of maize was practised in the central America and was the dominant practise of the Maya cultivation. The Inca and the Aztec civilisations also practised shifting cultivation for maize production." (Kahman, 1982 : 27). Many operations are involved in the shifting cultivation. The selection of sites, cutting and felling of trees, burning the slash, dibbling of seeds, protection of the crops from insects, pests and wild animals and harvesting of the crops etc. are the major operations.

According to K.J. Pelzer the shifting cultivation leads to "an economy of which the main characteristics are rotation of fields rather than crops, clearing by means of fire; absence of draught animals and of manuring; use of human labour; employment of dibble stick or hoe; short periods of soil occupancy alternating with long fallow periods. (Pelzer : 1954 : 27). Conklin has given a minimal definition of shifting cultivation as "any continuing system in which

impermanent clearings are cleared for shorter periods in years than they are followed. (Conklin, 1961 : 27). Colin Clark and Margaret Haswell explains that the fundamental differences between the advanced agriculture and the primitive shifting agriculture is in terms of land use and "just as advanced agriculture does not depend upon the animal drawn plough, primitive agriculture does not depend upon the hoe." (Colin Clark, 1967 : 33). The practice of shifting cultivation may itself differ from one place to another with regard to crops, land use and level of technology. In parts of Africa, for example only one crop of rice or maize or finger millet was grown while in the Philippines 280 specific food crop types were grown with several dozen cropped regularly with rice in a single plot of land. (Colin Clark, 1967 : 27). Though there is dearth of reliable data yet the estimated area under shifting cultivation in the world may be that some 14 million square miles occupied by 200 million people practised slash and burn agriculture. (Conklin, 1961 : 27). P. J. Dobby writing in 1950 estimated that in south-east Asia, as much as a third of all land is cultivated by shifting cultivators. It is surprising to note that shifting cultivation persisted in the remote parts of Sweden in 1920 (Clark and Haswell, 1967: 35). In India 9,29,480

hectares of land are utilized for shifting cultivation by almost 2.6 million people. (A Report of the Commissioner for Scheduled Castes and Scheduled Tribes, 1960-61 : 217).

Shifting cultivation or jhuming comprises of 172,468 acres or 4.3 per cent of the total land in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, excluding the reserve forests. Approximately two-thirds, i.e., 68,000 acres of this jhum area are actually being used for crop production. Jhuming is concentrated in the rugged and relatively inaccessible parts of the district. Altogether there is an estimated area of 2,467 square miles available to jhumias (who cultivate jhum) and cutters of forest produce (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 80).

The implements used in agriculture by the hill people are the 'dao' and the 'axe'. The dao is the hill knife, used universally throughout the country. It has a blade about 18 inches long, narrow at the haft, and square and broad at the tip pointless and sharpened on one side only. The blade is set in a handle of wood; a bamboo root is considered the best. The dao to a tribal is a possession of great pride. It is literally the bread-winner; with this he cuts his jhum and builds the houses. It is with the dao that he fashions the women's weaving tools; with the

dao he finea off his boat; with the dao he notches a star in the steep hillside leading to his Jhum; and to the dao he frequently owes his life in defending himself from the attack of wild animals (Bangladesh District Gazetteer, 1975 : 81). Apart from this they use digging stick, bamboo sorapor, sickles and bamboo basket.

In our survey we find only three respondents from both submerged and non-submerged areas in the rural side who were pursuing shifting cultivation. In the survey it was seen that on an average each family has 2 daos, 2 hoes, 1 spade, 1 sickle and 1 axe. It was also known that in jhum cultivation use of spade is uncommon. Table 5.4 shows the nominal expenditure for shifting cultivation.

It is seen from Table No. 5.4 that the value of the implements which can be considered as capital for agricultural implements by an average shifting cultivator is very nominal. Most of the tools listed therein are not required to be replaced annually.

In the late 18th and early 19th Century shifting cultivation, was practised in the area now comprising Chittagong District but by 1860, it had been totally replaced by settled agriculture. In fact,

TABLE No. 5.4 :: Number and Value of Tools and  
Implements of an average farm family in  
Aribal Village

Tools and Implements	Number	Value in TAKA
Dao	2	70.00
Hoe	2	18.00
Spade	1	50.00
Sickle	1	20.00
Axe	1	22.00
	TOTAL :	180.00

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the Chittagong Hill Tracts was separated from Chittagong  
in 1860 on the basis of the mode of agriculture -  
all land under shifting agriculture was placed in  
the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The chief characteristics of shifting  
cultivation are ;

- (1) rotation of fields,
- (2) use of fire for clearing the land

- (3) keeping the land fallow for a number of years for regeneration of the forests
- (4) use of human labour as chief input
- (5) non-employment of draught animals, and
- (6) use of very crude and simple implements such as dibble stick, scraper etc.

(Saikia, 1980 : 229).

For jhuming the jhumia selects a slope of forest land preferably covered with bamboo in the month of January and February. The land is cleared off all the bushes and jungles and the smaller trees are felled; but large trees are only denuded of their lower branches. The shrubs, creepers and undergrowth which were cut are then allowed to dry in the sun and in April/May, it is fired before the rain starts. The ashes spread on the land serve as fertilizer and help in keeping humus on the land. As soon as heavy rainfall occurs and saturates the ground, the cultivators with a basket of mixed seeds of rice, cotton, melon, cucumber, pumpkin, millet, beans, yams, sesame, and maize start sowing. The sower with his dao makes a small hole in the ground and the mixed seeds are put in the hole. After the plantation is over, a house is built to protect the jhum from wild animals. With sufficient rain and constant weeding an ample return could be

obtained. The maize ripens about the middle of July. The melons, vegetables and rice are harvested in September and in the month of October; the cotton crop is gathered last of all and this concludes the harvest.

The method of cultivation entails great labour and incessant care, young plants need constant weeding and when they come to maturity have to be guarded against the damage by wild pigs, deer, monkeys, parrots and rats. There were occasions when the whole crop was devoured by an invasion of field rats.

Shifting cultivation has a very little scope for specialization as diverse crops are sown in a single plot of land. Yet it has certain advantages for which it is preferred among some tribal population. First, though it requires higher initial labour input the overall labour requirements are low and discontinuous in shifting agriculture compared to plough cultivation. In a sparsely populated area with large tract of land jumping is advantageous. Second, multiple crops in the same land is an insurance against famine because if some of the crops failed there would always be some other which would be available. Thus there was no report of death from starvation in the famine of 1770 in this



district. Finally availability of different crops continuously for some time, the hardship of waiting for the next harvest is minimized.

The jhum cycle in the Chittagong Hill Tracts is of 2-3 years, because of the rapid loss of fertility due to soil erosion, the jhum land is abandoned. The system is of an extensive nature of land use. In the jhum cycle, the interval is mainly dependent upon the density of population of a particular area and the availability of suitable hill slopes for jhum cultivation. The higher the density of population the shorter is the jhum cycle.

Jhum land is not owned by the individual cultivator, but by the village, the headman being responsible for the distribution of the land amongst the village community. The jhumia pays a tax to the headman for the privilege of using jhum land. The land is allotted depending on the size of the family. Under this cultivation human labour and land are the principal factors of production. There is practically no hired labour. The farm size is solely dependent upon the working force in a family. The work in the jhum fields usually spreads over six months.

The crops grown under jhum cultivation is usually for home consumption and hence the primary emphasis is given on cultivation of food crops, viz., paddy, maize and vegetables. But to procure daily necessities like salt, dry fish, clothes and petty ornaments from the markets, the shifting cultivators also grow some cash crops like cotton, chillies, sesamum, ginger, turmeric and some vegetables.

We mentioned earlier that usually a number of crops are grown together, although primary importance is given to the cultivation of paddy. Usually a jhum land is cultivated for two or three consecutive years. In the first year a variety of crops are grown and in the second and third year paddy and other vegetables are also raised.

However, Spencer has pointed out that "most shifting cultivator societies are operating at less than maximum potential so far as their agricultural system is concerned. (Spencer; 1966 : 16). In the early 20th Century, output in the Chittagong Hill Tracts was found to be on an average 20 maunds of paddy and 5 maunds of cotton per acre of jhum land while it was 40 to 50 maunds per acre in plough cultivation. (District Gazetteers, 1975 : 118-119). Return from jhum land has

a further disadvantage that diminishing returns set in rather sharply if the land is not rotated. Actually in the jhum land it is difficult to estimate productivity per unit of land easily. Firstly, because of the absence of cadastral survey, measurement of the land is not available. Secondly, in the field slopes with undulating topography, it is difficult to estimate the area accurately. Thirdly, because of the mixture of crops it is not possible to measure yield of individual crops separately on the basis of area under each crop, except in case of exclusive crops.

Rahman pointed out that "attempts were made as early as 1875 by the Government to induce the tribal population to plough cultivation through grant of land, interest free advances of loan of £ 8 per family to be repaid in 5 years and rent holiday of 5 years." (Rehman, A., 1982 : 31). But the range was extremely slow. Later the population pressure as well as the contact with plainsman led these people to settled farming. Since 1947, the Government regulation and policy imposed on jhum cultivation also led to its sharp decline. Moreover, the construction of the Kaptai Dam put renewed pressure on land and compelled the people to take up new professions. Recently, the Government have made concerted efforts to eliminate jhum cultivation from the district. Thus we can see that jhum cultivation

was slowly replaced by plough cultivation.

#### Plough Cultivation

Apart from shifting cultivation the tribal people in the district also practised plough cultivation. It was introduced in the late 19th Century by the Bengalee cultivators from Chittagong who were brought by the Chakma elites as share croppers to plough the land. With the introduction of plough cultivation in the district, wooden plough was put into use in agriculture. The agricultural pattern practised in the district is typical subsistence agriculture modified to some extent by modern aids in the form of improved planting material, irrigation facilities and the use of chemical fertilisers and pesticides. Very recently, modern implements of cultivation like power tillers and power pumps are coming into use. In the processing of crops primitive practices still persist. The low standard of agriculture in the Hill Tracts is due chiefly to the neglect of this region in favour of the exploitation of the densely populated plains of Bangladesh. (Agricultural Development Board Report, 1978 : 48).

Traditionally intensive crop farming has been practised on alluvial lands at the bottom of river

valleys and lower terraces which are not less than 10,000 acres. Unlike Jhumias, the farmers are settled and land titles were introduced as early as 1900 under the Hill Tracts Regulation No. I. Here, it is written that holders of land titles have full rights of transferring their lands to the legally recognised Chittagong Hill Tracts residence only. This system has led to abuse and has resulted in most of the land being owned by comparatively a few land holders, who lease out the land or cultivate it with the help of landless labourers. (A.D.B. Report, 1978 : 48). The main 'flatland' crops are the rice but when there is insufficient supply of water for rice crops, rabi crops are grown. Rice cultivation is of three kinds. 'Aus' (or autumn harvested rice), 'Aman' (or winter harvested rice) and 'Boro', which is grown in the winter months. The aus is sown in April on irrigated land and is harvested in July. At first it is sown in the nurseries then transplanted in the fields. The aman is sown by the broadcasting method in July. It is also transplanted after the rain has flooded the land and turned the earth into mud. Harvesting takes place in December and January. There will be weeding only one time after transplantation. During this period the main occupation of the cultivator and his family is to watch

the field and scare away birds and other animals. For that purpose he erects a small hut on the edge of the flat land.

A third crop namely 'Boro' is cultivated in winter season. It is sown after harvesting aman paddy. The people of submerged area cultivate the floating land (fringe land) when Kaptai lake water goes down to a minimum level. If there is heavy rainfall before the harvest than the standing crop gets spoiled and the farmers suffer a lot. Thus this type of cultivation depends exclusively on climatic factors.

Rabi crops are grown abundantly in the district. These are mustard, tobacco, chilly, radish, egg plant, ladies finger, yam, sugarcane etc. The ploughing begins in October and at the end or beginning of November, mustard and pulses are sown. Other crops viz., tobacco, chilly, radish, brinjal, bhendi, yam are sown up to the end of January and remain unto May. Rabi crops, especially the mustard and pulses are manured.

As stated earlier, the Kaptai Hydel project uprooted 18,000 families; approximately one lakh people from their hearths and homes. For rehabilitating the uprooted tribals a plantation was undertaken by the Government. Short term for quick growing crops like

banana, pineapple, ginger, turmeric; and long term crops like orange, cashewnut, mango, litchi, silk and so on. Some were adopted by rehabilitated people. Some crops particularly cashewnut, pineapple and banana have grown well in the Hill Tracts. Other crops like Jackfruit, guava, lemons, limes, papaya and coconuts are grown. The farmers have different fruit trees mostly one or two trees in their lands.

#### Irrigation

As there are less facilities for irrigation the farmers have to rely mostly on the rains for crops. An excessive amount of rain (80%) falls in the monsoon period between June and September followed by variable quantities in October and November before the dry season commences in December. It can continue until as late as the end of April before there is any effective rainfall. The period of December to March is the cool with heavy dew at night.

With the above seasonal rainfall distribution it is discernible that vegetables are mostly grown in the winter months. Some vegetables are grown in monsoon period also. During monsoon season paddy lands get irrigated water. This is evident from the large number of bunds and small canals formed throughout the

rice areas. Farmers construct many small bunds, canals and drains to improve water distribution especially during periods when there is no rain. Small embankments are also made to minimise the danger of overflowing. During the dry season irrigation is accomplished by blocking small rivulets with earth dams or by using power pump of 1 or 2 cusec capacity.

Earth dams reinforced with wood and bamboo posts may be 3-13 feet high and are rebuilt at least once a year because they are washed away by floods. This ensures that there is no overflowing which could damage standing crops. These dams generally provide water for two paddy crops (aman and boro) a year. In a few places three crops a year are also harvested.

It is seen from Table 5.5 that irrigation in the district is still in its infancy. Still 217 (69.1%) respondents depend on rain water. Among them in Rangamati 80 (70.79%) and in Karalyachari 59 (93.65%) respondents exclusively depended on rain water. Rangamati as in the middle of the reservoir bed people in it have little scope for cultivation of the land by irrigation. It is seen in the Table No. 5.5 that 15 (13.27%) respondents cultivated land by digging of canals and 5 (4.42%) use pumsets. These people cultivated their land by hired employees or lease out



TABLE No. 5.5 : Different processes of Irrigation  
of land adopted by the respondents

Process for irrigation	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal chari	Total
Rain water	80 (70.79)	59 (93.65)	21 (33.33)	57 (76.00)	217 (69.10)
River water	-	-	-	-	-
Deep Tube well	-	-	-	-	-
Canal system	15 (13.27)	4 (6.34)	39 (61.90)	17 (22.66)	75 (23.88)
Pump set	3 (4.42)	-	3 (4.76)	1 (1.33)	9 (2.86)
Landless (who do not cultivate)	13 (11.5)	-	-	-	13 (4.14)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

to others who come from outside the town. In Karalya-  
chari village another submerged area, has little scope  
to cultivate by irrigation. Here only 4 (6.34%)  
respondents cultivated by using water from canals.  
It is observed that in Khagrachari irrigation by canal  
and pumpset is prevalent. This proves that some people

no longer depend on nature, and are adopting new technological devices. Here, we can explain Epstein's study of Economic Development and social change in South India (1962), because the concepts it employs resemble to irrigation system although its empirical findings are at variance with our present study. Epstein analyses the impact of a Government-sponsored modern irrigation project on the economic and social structure of two differently located, villages in Mysore State. She finds that although, the development of modern commercialised agriculture had brought about a shift in the social and economic life of the communities the pattern of development varied according to whether the village is in the central zone of irrigation or on the fringe. In the case of Wangala village, which reaped the full benefits of irrigation and therefore, expanded its existing agricultural economy, development was unilinear "in the sense that new opportunities were in line with the former mode of economic organisation". (Epstein, 1962 : 9). This resulted in relatively little change in social structure. On the other hand Dalena village, which was on the fringe of the irrigation area and therefore could not participate directly in the cash crop economy shown a pattern of economic diversification as its inhabitants

have been employed in the nearby town, became contractors of the Public Works Department and various small scale commercial activities. Some of them bought irrigated land or worked as agricultural labourers outside the village. This Dalena social structure underwent considerable transformation (Long, 1977 : 16).

The findings of these two studies are similar to the findings of our study. The people of Rangmati do not cultivate their lands themselves but they leased their lands to others, using irrigated water. They are mostly employed in different government organisations. Some are engaged as contractors, as businessmen and in small scale commercial activities. The respondents of other places also have similar occupations. Some of the respondents of Khagrachari and Kamalnari are engaged in government developmental activities. Thus, the involvement of the Chakmas in economic activities and the impact of multifarious urban influences can be easily assessed.

#### Kaptai Project and Its Effect on Agriculture

The construction of Kaptai project was a serious setback to the development of the tribal people on their economic as well as other spheres of life.

The average jhum cycle before submergence by the dam was 7 to 10 years or even more. (soil and land use survey shows it could be as long as 20 to 25 years) which caused no serious deterioration of the fertility of land. It is due to inundation of extensive jhum lands, natural increase of population and acute shortage of plough land as a result of submergence by the dam which threw 54,000 acres of plough land out of cultivation, have been mainly responsible for the shortening of the cycle which is now generally three to five years. This caused the declining in the fertility of the soil, low yield from jhum land and quick erosion and consequent soil degradation. In the process valuable timber and bamboo resources have been destroyed. The government took steps to abolish this traditional form of cultivation gradually and introduced a permanent type of hill slope cultivation that makes for more efficient use of the land, labour and capital. Available evidence showed that now jhum cultivation is almost vanished. The three households mentioned earlier as shifting cultivators were actually terrace cultivators. The jhum land in the true sense is no more available for cultivation.

According to District Gazetteer, the dam submerged 54,000 acres of plough lands which accounted

for the paddy lands of the district. The paddy lands lying above the reservoir comprises of only 21,522 acres. This figure excludes the extensive paddy lands submerged by the lake, which were used for paddy cultivation when the reservoir is not at full supply level." (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 88).

When the reservoir water goes down to minimum flood level most of the lands are utilised for crop cultivation during several months of the year. In an estimate it was observed that the land between the 90 foot and 139 foot contours is more than 5000 acres in the reservoir bed. If this land is kept above the water line for sufficient time to produce a crop of paddy (early aus) it will greatly alleviate the pressure on land in the submerged areas.

H.E. Kauffmann, a German Anthropologist made an useful study of the agriculture pattern in the southern part of the district in 1955-56, found the cultivation of potatoes, mustard and tobacco on the sandy banks of the river and the flat alluvial fields above the river. This has changed because of the construction of the dam.

The introduction of the high yielding rice varieties some years ago resulted in increased production of rice crop, but the spread of these high yielding varieties and the use of necessary inputs to exploit their potential has been relatively low.

#### Possession of Land

The introduction of private ownership of land and property in the Chittagong Hill Tracts has created a large section of landless population in most of the tribal communities. The change of economy into production for exchange and money economy encouraged the people for accumulation of land and property on individual ownership basis. Moreover, due to restriction on sale of land to the outsiders before 1964, some unscrupulous people took possession of land at a much lower price. The demographic pressure has also created the landless labour.

It is seen from Table No. 5.6 that 275 (87.57%) respondents owned land and rest of them were landless. Some of the respondents opined that they did not inherit share of land from their fathers. Before completion of Kaptai Dam in 1960 the population size of the district was very low, which is shown in Chapter III.

At that time people produced what they needed from flat land and jhum cultivation. There was plenty of uncultivated khas (government) land without any ownership. When people were displaced due to the dam, all the khas lands were distributed to the people from the submerged areas. Meanwhile due to population increase, jhum cultivation was discouraged by the government which ultimately resulted in the shortage of cultivable land. Accumulation of property especially land ownership became rapacious to all. It is generally found that individual ownership comes into existence gradually when the land is developed for the introduction of permanent cultivation or horticulture. This resulted in change of social organisation particularly social stratification pattern of the Chakma society.

Agriculture is the main occupation of the Chakmas. The agriculturists normally buy land when their economic position improves and sell land when in adversities, since land is considered as a property/asset for Chakmas. For them any form of purchasing or agricultural land is considered as an investment. We tried to assess whether any Chakmas have purchased or sold any land during the past ten years.

TABLE No. 5.7 : Showing the respondents who sold  
out their land during the last ten years.

Reply	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal chari	Total
Land added	3 (2.65)	5 (7.93)	7 (11.11)	8 (10.66)	23 (7.32)
No	110 (97.34)	58 (92.06)	56 (88.88)	67 (89.33)	291 (92.68)
TOTAL	113	63	63	75	314

TABLE No. 5.8 : Showing respondents who purchased  
lands during the last ten years

Reply	Ranga- mati	Karalya chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Bought land	8 (7.67)	12 (19.04)	14 (22.22)	11 (14.66)	45 (14.33)
No	105 (92.92)	51 (80.75)	49 (77.77)	64 (85.33)	269 (85.67)
TOTAL	113	63	63	75	314



Table 5.7 shows that majority (92.68%) of the respondents have not sold any land during the last ten years. However, an infinitesimally small percentage (7.32%) of the respondents sold their lands. This evidently shows that Chakmas value possession of land as an important asset and will not part with it.

In Table 5.8 we find that only 14.33% of the respondents could afford to purchase land which they valued very much. It can be inferred that for Chakmas investment in land is the only form of saving, since they do not believe in depositing money in bank. However, 85.67% could not buy any land, even though they value it very much. This may be due to poverty.

In Rangmati 3 (.6%) of the respondents sold the residential land at higher price and bought paddy fields in rural areas and leased it out to farmers.

The respondents opined that they had taken land on lease for cultivation. Due to the vagaries of the nature when the crops failed some of them paid the lease money to owners of the land by selling their own lands.

In Rangmati some respondents deposited their surplus money in banks. This saving tendency has

undoubtedly brought about a new outlook among the respondents. The traditional mode of investment in landed property to savings in banks is a trend of modernisation.

#### Indebtedness

The indebtedness of the tribal people is not of recent origin. They have been in debt from time immemorial. The hillmen (tribal people) wrote Captain Lewin in 1866, 'is naturally improvident'. By his improvidence he is driven yearly to have recourse to borrowing money from the Bengali Mahajan, who do not fail to exact an almost ruinous rate of interest from him. Although able to pay the original debt contracted, the hillman struggles vainly against the load imposed upon him by the ruinous rate of interest charged by the mahajan, and although by a system of renewal of the bills against him he may postpone the evil day. Yet eventually the crash comes and he is sold up to meet his liabilities." (District Gazetteers, 1975 : 127-128). The tribals are illiterate and docile in character. They cannot make out what mahajan writes at the time of lending money. At the evil day, Mahajan postpones taking money but eventually unbearable interest is imposed on the following year. Consequent upon this they are forced to sell their belongings to meet the liabilities.

Writing about the nature and extent of indebtedness of the hillmen during the early part of the present century, Mr. Ascoli pointed out that the indebtedness of the jhumia did not constitute his agricultural capital. Debt was incurred in seasons of want and for the purpose of ceremonies and feasts. He also says, 'while it may be possible to fortify the economic position of the jhumia against periods of distress, his spendthrift character will undoubtedly survive many generations of training. Indebtedness will accordingly continue.' (District Gazetteers, 1975 : 129).

Mr. Ascoli found no reason that the hillmen would fall into debt; but it was an undoubted fact that debts would continue to accrue. Besides loan from individual mahajan, the hillmen also used to get Agricultural loans, loans from the government co-operative banks.

The data from Table No. 5.9 indicates that 180 (57.32%) of the respondents were found indebted to government or to the individual mahajan. The reason of taking loan as reported by the respondents was for buying food and agricultural purposes.

TABLE No. 5.9 :: Respondents' indebtedness

Indebtedness	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	24 (21.23)	58 (92.06)	37 (58.73)	61 (81.33)	180 (57.32)
No	89 (78.76)	5 (7.93)	26 (41.26)	14 (18.66)	134 (42.67)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

The extent of indebtedness of rural people in the district was revealed in the Pakistan Census of Agriculture, Vol.1 in 1960 that out of the total of 42,400 farmers, 14,050 farmers i.e., 33 per cent of the total number of farmers were reported to be in debt. (District Gazetteer, 1975 : 130). The same finding is also revealed in the Table 5.9 that the number of respondents who were in debt are more in the rural areas than in the urban areas. In Karalyachari village 92.06 per cent and in Kamalchari 81.33 per cent were found to be indebted. It was learnt that there was hardly any household without indebtedness. Therefore, the remark made by Ascoli regarding tribal's continuation of indebtedness can not be obliterated. Nevertheless,

the allegation that the tribals are improvident and their nature to be indebted can not be judged from the modern perspective. It is true that sudden topographical change along with socio-economic condition due to construction of the dam and afterwards the formation of Bangladesh threw the tribals in an embarrassing position. Due to lack of education and poor economic conditions, they could not overcome their past difficulties. Currently, the government initiated to give loans to the farmers for agriculture and fishery. It was learnt that the rural people are so overburdened with loan that any return of the loan is quite impossible.

However, in Kangamati and Khagrachari the number of indebted persons were comparatively few. The reason was that the people in both the places are mostly in service or engaged in some other economic pursuits. They somehow manage their monthly expenditure with the income they get. Thus a tendency to be self sufficient is perceived.

The indebtedness of the respondents of Karlyachari, Khagrachari and Kamalchari is due to :

- 1) Agriculture occupation gives income only once or twice in a year.
- 2) The other times, they borrow to meet their needs.

(3) Due to perennial natural calamities such as floods, cyclones and draughts the crops fail, forcing them to borrow money.

(4) Injudicious spending on ceremonies etc.

The urban respondents in Pangemati did not have much indebtedness because :

(1) They are in service mostly with fixed monthly income

(2) No agricultural occupation which requires investment.

(3) They regulate their money by planning their expenditure.

However, it is noticed that a few (21.23%) are indebted because they borrow money to meet the expenses for ceremonies and unplanned expenditure.

#### Classification of Land

The lands may be classified into two broad divisions - paddy lands and rabi lands. There is another kind of land which is known as 'grove land'. The former is low land, terraced and bounded with embankment for wet cultivation while the rabi lands are highlands where the fields are not intended to retain water or retain

natural drainage. In the grove lands, trees and other plants can grow. Shifting cultivation is practised on this land. Land for homestead in all places of the survey area may be placed in this group.

On the basis of the fertility of the soil the paddy land is further divided into 1st class and 2nd class lands. In the 1st class land three crops a year are harvested, while two yearly paddy crops (aman and boro) are grown in the 2nd class land.

Classification of land possessed by the respondents in the survey areas as seen from Table 5.10 shows that only 64 (20.38%) respondents possess first class land whereas 237 (75.47%) were second class land owners. Due to shortage of grove land for jhum cultivation because restriction by government to utilize this land for homestead building, pressure on 1st class and 2nd class lands is noticed. Leasing of 1st class and 2nd class land fetches 1000 and 800 Taka per harvest per acre respectively. There is considerable leasing in and leasing out activity in this area to set of their debts. When farmers' indebtedness increases they lease out their lands and clear their debts from the remuneration they receive and also when there is saving they take land on lease and cultivate for profit motive. They make small embankments and use pump sets for paddy cultivation on the second class land. For that purpose a

TABLE No. 5.10 : Classification of land holding by  
the respondents

Classification of land	Ranga- mati	Karalya chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
1st Class	24 (21.23)	-	27 (42.85)	13 (17.33)	64 (20.38)
2nd class	76 (67.25)	63 (100.00)	36 (57.14)	62 (82.66)	237 (75.47)
Landless	13 (11.50)	-	-	-	13 (4.14)
FOCAL :	113	63	63	75	314

village co-operative society has been formed to secure all possible help from the government. Thus a sense of proper land utilisation is making inroads among the Chakmas now-a-days.

#### Land Cultivation

Cultivation of land may be initiated either personally or by hired employees. Most of the rural people render their physical labour for cultivation of land but for urban people cultivation is physically impossible particularly for those who are in service



Annexure 5.11 : Respondents show how they cultivate their lands.

Land cultivated by	Rangamati	Karalya-chari	Khagra-chari	Kamal-chari	Total
Parents or Relatives	68 (60.17)	1 (1.59)	26 (41.26)	2 (2.66)	97 (30.89)
Self with the help of family members	-	56 (88.86)	22 (34.92)	52 (61.33)	130 (41.40)
Hired labour	-	6 (9.52)	10 (15.87)	18 (24.00)	34 (10.82)
Others	32 (20.31)	-	5 (7.93)	3 (4.00)	40 (12.73)
Landless (who do not cultivate)	13 (11.50)	-	-	-	13 (4.14)
<b>TOTAL :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

and stay away from home in different places of service. Therefore, it was attempted to assess from both the urban and rural area respondents about the real position of land cultivation. Many respondents who stayed in the town said that their lands were cultivated by their parents and relatives or by others as share croppers.

The above table shows that Urban respondents could not cultivate their lands themselves. Thus their lands were mostly cultivated by parents or relatives. 97 (30.69%) of the respondents did not cultivate their lands, but their relatives are looking after it. 130 (41.40%) of the respondents cultivated their land themselves and 34 (10.82%) respondents hired labour for cultivation. 43 (12.73%) are depending on share croppers. It was also observed that some service holders could not depend upon the service income exclusively. They depended on agricultural products from their lands for their family consumption.

With the adoption of settled agriculture a great change has already set in. The adoption of settled agriculture for the high yield of crops is with the motive of 'Grow more food'. Recently scientific methods in cultivation specially utilization of better seeds, fertilizers and pesticides have already been introduced. The adoption of modern methods in agriculture is rather slow but steadily gaining ground. The Japanese method of rice cultivation which produced very high yields, is being accepted in a rapid phase. The respondent's utilisation of this method is assessed. It was found that only 26.75% of respondents were using fertilisers. The agriculture department is encouraging and motivating

the people for adopting scientific methods and for using of fertilizers and pesticides.

TABLE No. 5.12 : Respondents use of fertilizers for cultivation

Use of Fertilizer	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	42 (37.16)	4 (6.34)	21 (33.33)	17 (22.66)	84 (26.75)
No	39 (34.51)	51 (80.95)	28 (44.44)	48 (64.00)	166 (52.83)
Sometimes	32 (28.31)	8 (12.69)	14 (22.22)	10 (13.33)	64 (20.38)
TOTAL	113	63	63	75	314

The above table gives an idea of the use of fertilizers by the respondents. It is seen that 52.83% respondents did not use artificial manure because they felt that cow-dung, decomposed leaves, ash and straw were good enough for their requirement of cultivation. The people expressed their views exactly of what Dube in his study of two villages (Kajpet village and Tyagi village of Uttar Pradesh in North West India) argued 'that fertilizers sapped the fertility of the soil and

burnt the crops.' 'They (chemical fertilizers) are like a strong aphrodisiac - temporarily stimulating but harmful in the long run.' (Duce, 1958 : 64). The respondents also expressed the same opinion regarding use of fertilizers. However, the emphasis of using more scientific methods has become the order of modern agriculture. Availability of new seeds and supply of fertilizers have opened new dimensions in the field of agriculture among Chakmas.

#### Annual Output Income from Agriculture

The annual output income from agriculture of the respondents was assessed. It was found that the annual income of the respondents varied in different areas.

TABLE NO.5.13 :: Respondents' Annual Income from  
Agriculture

Annual Income	Kangra- mati	Karalya- chari	Khegra- chari	Kamal- cheri	Total
Less than TK 3000/-	5 (4.42)	28 (44.44)	21 (31.74)	18 (24.00)	71 (22.61)
TK 3001- TK 8000/-	48 (42.47)	25 (39.68)	17 (26.98)	22 (27.33)	112 (35.66)
TK 8001 - and above	47 (41.59)	10 (15.87)	26 (41.26)	35 (46.66)	118 (37.57)
Landless (do not cultivate)	13 (11.50)	-	-	-	13 (4.14)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

It was found that the annual output income of TK 8001 and above was the highest among 118 (37.57%) of the respondents, whereas the annual income of 112 (35.66%) respondents was between TK 3001 to 8000 and 71 (22.61%) respondent's income was less than TK 3000/-. It is also noticed that the annual income from agriculture is higher in Khagrachari and Kamal-chari villages of non-submerged areas as well as in Rangamati. The non-submerged people could produce high yield because they were not dislocated due to the construction of the dam. On the otherhand the people of Rangamati have their lands outside the town as stated earlier and their lands were cultivated by others. They also earn satisfactorily from their lands. The annual income from agriculture in Karalyachari village is the lowest of all the places. Here only 13 (15.87%) respondents annual income from agriculture is TK 8001 and above and 28 (44.44%) respondents' income is less than TK 3,000/-. The economic condition of these people is a matter of great concern now-a-days. Thus unless ameliorating steps are undertaken for their improvement they will be economically crippled day by day.

#### Period of Sufficiency of Agricultural Products

Regarding deficiency of food it was discussed earlier in Chapter III. Here, we shall deal with the

period of sufficiency of agricultural product for the annual consumption and the utilisation of the surplus product, if any.

TABLE No. 5.14 : Distribution of Respondents according to the period of sufficiency of Agricultural products

Period of sufficiency	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Less than 3 months	22 (19.46)	29 (46.03)	20 (31.74)	38 (50.66)	109 (34.71)
3 - 6 months	37 (32.74)	21 (33.33)	19 (30.15)	21 (28.00)	98 (31.21)
6 - 12 months	12 (10.61)	4 (6.34)	11 (17.46)	8 (10.66)	35 (11.14)
Depends on the harvest	18 (15.92)	8 (12.69)	7 (11.11)	3 (4.00)	36 (11.46)
All the year	7 (6.19)	-	2 (3.17)	2 (2.66)	11 (3.50)
Sufficient	4 (3.53)	1 (1.59)	4 (6.34)	3 (4.00)	12 (3.82)
Landless (who do not cultivate)	13 (11.50)	-	-	-	13 (4.14)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

From the above table it is seen that 3.82% respondents had sufficient produce from the agricultural land for their annual consumption. It was known that the surplus product is sold or given to others on loan or kept stored for the next year in order to avoid difficulties if any, during crop failure. It was also observed that some quantity of rice is kept for the preparation and consumption of rice beer. All the respondents have expressed that they have to contribute a share of their crops to the underground insurgent groups either voluntarily or as a result of fear or threat.

Bangladesh is a place for disasters and suffering. Every year there are some sort of natural calamities either floods or cyclone. Therefore, if there are any natural calamities the standing crops get spoiled and they have to depend on stored produce if any. The last cyclonic storm in May 1985 is a classic example of it.

It is also observed that most of the Chakmas are below poverty level. We can classify them into two categories - the poor and the middle class. But there is no upper class as per our findings. It was learnt that the people of submerged area try to reduce

their deficiency of food from horticulture and fishing. By and large it can be said that the economic condition of the Chakmas is poor.

#### On going Change

From the above discussion it is discernible that the age old method of cultivation has started undergoing changes in the Chakma society. The 'Grow More food' Programme of the country has made the people aware of the importance of adopting new technology. Their awareness and interests made them learn the use of many new technological devices as a result of which Chakmas got the idea that for successful agricultural output it depends mainly on improved inputs in the form of seeds, use of fertilizers and pesticides, irrigation and multiple cropping. Acceptance of scientific techniques, water management for irrigation, utilization of fertilizer, crop rotation in Jhum land and change of age old traditional methods are helping to get a higher yield now-a-days. Mechanisation of farming, acceptance of new innovation in agriculture have helped the Chakmas to better their agricultural output. Though the development is slow due to illiteracy and ignorance of the people, still they are slowly realising the advantages of adopting new techniques in



the agriculture and a change is taking place. But the changes are rapid in the case of educated people, who understand the advantages of the innovation and are introducing modern techniques.

Thus innovation, application of modern tools and techniques that gave high yield of produce helped to bring about a change from the traditional bound techniques to scientific modern methods of farming.

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# Chapter VI

## Religion

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## CHAPTER VI

### RELIGION

What is Religion

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## CHAPTER VI

RELIGION

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What is Religion?

From historical records and ethnographic studies we find that all societies have some form of religion though specific beliefs and practices vary widely - some groups attribute power to ghosts and ancestors; others to supernatural forces, ■■■■ believe in one supreme deity; others in many gods, some see their gods as benevolent; others see them as mischievous, hostile or indifferent, some seek affirmation of their faith in solitude and wilderness; others erect pyramids, cathedrals or other monuments and maintain heirarchical priesthoods to intercede with the divine.

Religion thus existed from the earliest phase of history. Archeological remains from stone age to Mohen-zo-Daro bespeak the existence of religion



The progress of civilization brought a change in religion as indeed in everything.

Religion is a subject of great concern even in advanced societies of today, where futility of science has often compelled man to search for God or a supernatural power, so that his faith in the order of things is not absolutely lost. Science is based essentially on a cause-effect theory and certain natural laws or axioms. Religion is based on simple faith imbued with a sense of supernaturalism. Therefore, religion is a fundamental expression of man and society, ordinarily implying devotion to a supreme being or beings. It is generally used to describe man's relation to divine or superhuman powers and the organised system of belief and worship in which these relations have been expressed.

Anthropologists and Sociologists have been deeply concerned with the origin of religion and have tried to establish several theories about it. Max Weber in the modern times has given a more systematic explanation of religion. He believes that to define religion or to say what it is, is not possible at the start of the discussion but can be expected at the conclusion of the study." (Sinha, 1977 : 12). According to him the essence of religion can hardly be

determined by providing definitions. It may be because religious feelings are so personal and difficult to describe objectively that any definition of religion will necessarily seem inadequate. Nevertheless, some definition is desirable as a starting point for analysis.

Basis, Gelles and Levine explained that "Religion is a set of institutionalised beliefs and practices that deal with the ultimate meaning of life. Religion provides a blue print for social behaviour based on a divine supernatural or transcendental order." (Basis, Gelles and Levine, 1984 : 452). Sinha, aptly says, "Religion is that cultural tradition in continuity of a people that makes them live their life with a disquestioning belief, and with a sense of absolute dedication to some unforeseen superhuman element controlling their destiny, yet remaining beyond their reach." (Sinha, R. : 1977 : 5).

Religion is an important institution which plays a vital role in individuals total development. O'Dea feels that, "Society is not simply a social structure, it is also a complex of social processes. The relationships, values and goals are at any given movement only relatively stable, slow but cumulative changes in them are continually taking place. In spite

of differences in the various strata of social and cultural structure in a particular society, yet religion to a great extent, is a factor contributing to the social integration and group solidarity. This in turn, enhance its goals and strengthens its social control." (O'Dea, 1966 : 55). Redcliff Brown discussed the function of religion in group solidarity and integration as "a society depends for its existence on the presence in the minds of its members of a certain system of sentiments by which the conduct of the individual is regulated in conformity with the needs of the society. Moreover, religion serves as an important factor for high morals as well as for the balance of the individual personality. The religious outlook of the people dominates the people's intellectual, emotional and practical life. It is difficult to locate any aspect of their life which is not permeated with and given colour by religion. Their personal life, family life, community life, general social life, economic as well as freetime or recreational life - all are guided and governed by religious approach and its norms." (Redcliff Brown, 1922 : 519).

Emile Durkheim defined religion as, "A unified system of beliefs and practices relative to sacred things uniting into a single moral community all those

who adhere to those beliefs and practices." (Emile Durkheim 1947 : 47). He emphasized a community of believers sharing norms about the supernatural. Hertzler, a contemporary sociologist suggests that "religion seemingly grow out of the fact that man lives in an atmosphere of uncertainty, insecurity and incompleteness." (Hertzler, 1948 : 1).

Milton Yinger refined and incorporated both viewpoints in his definition : "Religion can be defined as a system of beliefs and practices by means of which a group of people struggles with (the) ultimate problems of human life. It is the refusal to capitulate to death to give up in the face of frustration, to allow to tear a part of one's human association," (J. Milton Yinger, 1957 : 9).

Evans-Pritchard defined "religion is a social phenomenon something general, traditional and obligatory." (Evans-Pritchard, 1959 : 5). Religion is also "concerned with a system of belief as well as system of relationship and action, and because its systems of action are themselves directed towards entities the existence of which is not open to observation." (Mair, 1972:210).

Johnson defined it as "religion is a more or less coherent system of beliefs and practices concerning a supernatural order of beings, forces, places or other

entities : a system that for its adherents has implications for their behaviour and welfare : implications that the adherents in varying degrees and ways take seriously in their private and collective life." (Johnson, 1981 : 392). In this context Encyclopaedia of Anthropology describes "religion in a society is the collective duty of the community to participate in the rituals required of their cults . . . which objectify the community's unity by demanding universal participation" - which consists of "culturally patterned interaction with culturally postulated superhuman beings." (Spiro, 1966 ¶ 96).

By and large religion may be said as a mirror or it parallels the social order i.e., the form of religion that takes place in any society will be consistent with the social structure and peoples' basic requirements. Therefore, "religion serves to validate or reinforce this social order : to legitimate it as the proper way to live; and this helps to regulate social activities and contribute to the maintenance of social control." (Vivelo, 1978 : 93).

#### Function of Religion

Religion functions as a continuity in society, wherein the supernatural laws and beings around which

structures are oriented gives an idea of reality to the cultural values and social norms. Religion provides the individual with an institutionalised outlet for his hopes and fears. It offers a higher court of appeal when he feels that his fellowmen have treated him unjustly, and promises better things in the future.

Religion has been a powerful factor in lending emotional support to the moral code. In all the great religions of civilised men there is an intermingling of religion and morals. This is seen in the religious support of taboos, in the effect on conduct of belief in a god, in the influence of a belief that rewards and punishment will be meted out in a future life. (Young, 1972 : 381). Another function of religion attributed to its activities is social control and guidance in programmes of social action. It however, varies greatly in different religions and in different times and places. Religious norms develop from man's experience. These experiences which on the whole and in the long run appear to be to a man's advantage and disadvantage. They come to be cherished as 'good' and 'moral' - the things he should do and the things he should not do, be regarded as immoral and bad. These guide human beings about what they should or should not do which are enshrined in the mores of every culture.

The religious institution has a general function which acts as a source and propagator of basic values and ethical codes. Religion, through its organised agencies, is frequently the major influence in defining value system. This function of religion is usually recognised regardless of what theory is held as to the nature and origin of values, morals and ethics.

"Religion like other human social institutions arises as a means by which man makes adjustment to a major aspect of his world. The mysteries and the perplexities as to how and why nature, including man and society behaves the way it does constitute in general the situation and the aspect of life which gives rise to religious attitudes, emotions and behaviour." (Lundberg, Schrag, Larsen, Cotton, 1969 : 220). Man invents elaborate pattern of behaviour called magic, ritual and ceremony, in order to influence or control the powers or the beings, the mysteries and the events of nature.

There can be no question that the belief in God influences moral conduct. Among the primitive societies where magic, is considered very powerful and where spirits are used for malevolent ends, men believe

in benign spirits who counteract the evil ones and aid in more human ways.

In Christian theology the struggle between the forces of God and the forces of Satan symbolises the conflict within the individual between the moral and the immoral, between the spirit and the flesh between good and evil. Throughout Christian history the role of God and the saints as standards for virtue has been highly important. A personal deity becomes an ideal with which one may compare his own conduct. (Young, 1972 : 381-385). For any conduct reward or punishment becomes a powerful aid to morality.

In many religions the belief in a final judgement with its terrible punishment for the evil and rewards for the virtues, is pictured in bold and striking manner. The fear of hell fire and damnation has been a powerful factor in the control of conduct of human being. Associated with this fear, system of penance and absolution have been developed to remove or at least lighten the burden of future punishment.

In non-literate societies nearly every feature of life is mixed with religion. This is clearly evident in economic life. For example, the Garos, like most other tribes perform their pujas centred on farming, showing fertility and harvest.



It is significant that religious organisations are taking over some of the functions formerly performed in the home in the neighbourhood and even in the school.

The religious institutions also has a general function which acts as a source and propagator of basic values and ethical codes, i.e., the aspirations, hopes and ideals which a group entertains to the conditions of overt behaviour (Laddberg, Schrag, Larsen, Callon, 1969 : 218). Religion, through its organised agencies is frequently the major influence in defining the value system. This function of religion is usually recognised regardless of what theory is held as to the nature and origin of values, morals and ethics.

According to O'Dea, "religion, by its invocation of a beyond which is concerned with human destiny and welfare, and to which man may respond and relate themselves, provides support consolation, and reconciliation. Men need emotional support in the face of uncertainty, consolation when confronted with disappointment and reconciliation with society when alienated from its goals and norms."

"Religion offers a transcendental relationship through cult and the ceremonies of worship, and thereby provides the emotional ground for a new security and

firmer identity amid the uncertainties and impossibilities of the human condition and the flux and change of history. Through its authoritative teaching and beliefs and values it also provides established points of reference amid the conflicts and ambiguities of human opinions and points of view." (O'Dea, 1969 : 14).

While discussing the function of religion, Kingsley Davis described that religion sanctifies the norms and values of established society, maintaining the dominance of group goals, over individual wishes, and of group disciplines over individual impulses." (Davis, K. :1948 : 529). Religion also performs its function by presenting ritual ways, in which guilt can be expiated and the individual is released from his bondage and reintegrated into the social group. Thus religion socializes the norms and values, contributing to social control; legitimates the allocation patterns of the society, thereby aiding order and stability and aids in the reconciliation of the affected.

Religion performs important identity functions. Individuals develop important aspects of their own self understanding and self definition by the acceptance of the values involved in religion and the beliefs about human nature and destiny associated with them. Again by participation of the individual in religious rituals

and worship, they set out significant elements of their own identity. In these ways religion affects individuals' understanding of their identity. In periods of rapid social change and large scale social mobility, the contribution of religion to identity may become greatly enhanced.

Finally, "religion is related to the growth and maturation of the individual and his passage through the various age gradings distinguished by his society." (O'Dea, 1969 : 14). "The relation of religion to maturation is a complex one and a problematic one, religion can provide the necessary elements of security and definition at certain stages of life, to enable the individual to meet crisis successfully and to develop a mature personality." (O'Dea, 1969 : 103).

#### Animism, Naturism and Totemism

There is no religious system, ancient or modern where two religions do not meet in the same form. They exist as it were, side by side and are being united closely and mutually penetrating each other. Nevertheless they are found to be distinct. The one addresses itself to the phenomena of nature, either the great cosmic forces such as winds, rivers, stars or the sky etc., or the objects of various sorts which cover the surface of the earth such as plants, animals, and

rocks. For this reason it has been given the name of 'naturism'. "The other has spiritual beings as its objects, spirits, souls, geniuses, demons, divinities properly so called, animated and conscious agents like man, but distinguished from him, nevertheless by the nature of their powers and specially by the peculiar characteristic that they do not affect the senses in the same way : ordinarily they are not visible to human eyes. This religion of spirits is called, 'animism'. (Durkheim, 1947 : 48). For some, animism is the primitive religion of which naturism is only a secondary and derived form. For the others, on the contrary, it is the nature cult which was the point of departure for religious evolution; the cult of spirits is only a peculiar case of that." (Durkheim, 1947 : 49)

The word, 'animism' comes from the Latin root, 'anima', which means breath of life, hence soul or spirit. Taylor formed this idea of animism. According to him, "animism" is a belief in the supernatural powers lying behind natural objects among the lower races. (E.B. Taylor, 1958 : 23). The idea of soul was first conceived by man as having double life they ordinarily lead - one when awake and the other while a-sleep. For the primitive man, "the mental representation which he has while awake and those of his dreams are said to be

of the same value : he objectifies the second like the first that is to say, that he sees in them the images of external objects whose appearance they more or less accurately reproduce. So when he dreams that he has visited a distant country, he believes that he really was there. But he could not have gone there unless two beings exist within him; the one, his body, which has remained lying on the ground and which he finds in the same position on awakening; the other, during this time, has travelled through space. Similarly, if he seems to talk with one of his companions, who he knows was really at a distance he concludes that the other also is composed of two beings : one which sleeps at a distance and another which has come to manifest himself by means of the dream. From these repeated experiences, he little by little arrives at the idea that each of us has a double, another self, which in determined conditions has the power of leaving the organism where it resides and of going roaming at a distance." (Durkheim, 1947 : 50). This double is the soul. But the soul is not a spirit. As it is attached to a body and can leave only by exception so it is not an object of any cult. The spirit on the other hand, though generally having some special thing as its residence, can go away at will, and a man can enter

into relations with it only by observing ritual precautions. The soul can become a spirit only by transforming itself. The souls, owing to their extreme fluidity can enter into the body and cause all sorts of disorders. Thus comes the habit of attributing to the souls all those events of life and constitute a sort of ready supply of causes to a man. If a man is overtaken by an attack or seized by madness, it is because an evil spirit has entered into him and brought him all the troubles. Thus the power of souls is increased by all that men attributed to them and in the end men find themselves the prisoners of this imaginary world. They fall into dependence upon these spiritual forces which they have created with their own hands and in their own image. "For if souls are the givers of health and sickness, of good and evil to this extent, it is wise to conciliate their favour or appease them when they are irritated; hence come the offerings, prayers, sacrifices, in a word, all the apparatus of religious observances." (Taylor, 1924 : 113).

Naturalism : We have seen that animism is based on idea attributed on it which has no physical reality. Max Muller propounded a concept, contrary to this principle which is known as 'naturalism'. His view was that "religion ought to appear, not as a sort of

vague and confused dreaming, but as a system of ideas and practices well founded in reality." (Burkheim, 1942: 73), while explaining the concept he cited an example from the Vedas of Hindu religion. Agni, the name of one of the principle divinities of India, originally signified only the material fact of fire, such as it is ordinarily perceived by the senses and without any mythological addition. Max Muller says, "at first sight, nothing seemed less natural than nature. Nature was the greatest surprise, a terror, a marvel, a standing miracle, and it was only on account of their permanence, constancy, and regular recurrence that certain features of that standing miracle were called natural, in the sense of foreseen, common, intelligible . . . It was that vast domain of surprise, of terror, of marvel, of miracle, the unknown, as distinguished from the known, or, as I like to express it, the infinite, as distinct from the finite, which supplied from the earliest times the impulse to religious thought and language." (Max Muller, 1890 : 119-120). He applies fire to a natural force to illustrate his idea which holds a rather large place in the Vedic religion. According to him, "fire was not given as something permanent or eternal, like the sky, or the earth, or the water." (Max Muller, 1890 : 121). Thus beyond the distances which man perceives there are

others which extend without limits. The flowing river manifests an infinite force since nothing can exhaust it. "There is no aspect of nature which is not fitted to awaken. Within us this overwhelming sensation of an infinity which surrounds us and dominates us (Max Muller, 1889 : 121, 149). It is from this sensation that religions are derived. Subsequently religion commences only at the moment when natural forces are no longer represent in mind in an abstract form. They have been transformed into personal agents, living and thinking beings, spiritual powers or gods. Thus cult is generally addressed.

The Taboos Developed in Tribal Society : In order to maintain religion intact certain acts were forbidden. Particular objects became taboo. The earthly belongings of a deity could not be touched. By taboo a chieftain, because of his close relationship with a deity might keep aside for his own use or pleasure objects of special value. Religion thus furnished society with one of its earliest tools of control.

Taboos were enforced by involving fear. The wrath of the gods would come down upon the offender and punishment would strike him down. Thus along with taboo came the appeal to fear and the concept of punishment.



Animism is the religion of the majority of the tribes of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Of them some tribes like the Chakmas, the Marmas, the Chaks, the Khyangs belong to Buddhism and that of Tripuras and Riangs follow Hinduism but a hangover from animism is still traceable in their society. The rest of the tribes are truly animistic in this region.

Totemism : An Indian interpreter J. Long, found the word, 'Totem' in 1791. Subsequently Mac Lennan was the first, who undertook to attach totemism to the general history of humanity. He says that "totemism was not only a religion, but one from which were derived a multitude of beliefs and practices which are found in much more advanced religious systems." (Durkheim, 1947:88)

It is well known that tribal societies are divided and subdivided into a number of clans and septs. Likewise the Chakmas are also divided into a large number of exogamous clans locally known as Gosthi. The Gosthi is hereditary and membership is transmitted only through the male line. In addition to the clans there is a territorial grouping known as sept or goza. A goza may include person of various clans or gosthis. Marriage within the goza is allowed but not in the same gosthi. According to Durkheim, "the species of things which serves to designate the clan collectively

is called its totem." (Durkheim, 1947 : 102). The totem of the clan is also that of each of its members. Each clan has its totem, two different clans of the same tribe cannot have the same totem.

#### Religion Among the Tribals

The tribal societies have a different outlook from non-tribals and their religious beliefs are correspondingly primitive in nature. Primitive spiritualism still dominates the pre-conscious levels of their mind. In the dawn of history man has ventured to philosophise about the creation of the universe and the order of nature. He thinks there must be a supernatural being which is regulating this order. Thus, man conceived the sun, the moon, the wind, the heaven as being like himself and guided by feelings and attitudes like his own. There must be an invisible force or forces behind the natural objects without which the stars would not revolve, the rivers would not flow the fountain would dry up and the fields go barren. Their quest for this truth has landed them in the realm of totemism and animism. Nature worship was common. Some objects called fetishes were worshipped not because of their intrinsic value, charm or power but because a spirit or god was supposed to reside in them.

Animals were worshipped and revered for the qualities in which they excelled. Ancestor worship was common.

However, the worship of innumerable spirits became burdensome and confusing, hence many spirits were supplemented by a relatively few deities and religious beliefs. Then it seems that the main deity of the leading tribe in a given area became supreme. The beginning of monotheism is thus established.

In early times a man's religion consisted largely of the religious acts which he performed rather than in the beliefs he held. Sacrifices were the important features of early religion. By this the relationship with the gods were renewed and strengthened. Prayer was the concomitant of the sacrifice; it was the means by which the worshiper explained the reason of his gift, urged the deity to accept it and asked for the help he needed.

"There were few temples, idols and no churches in the early human world. The worship of natural objects did not suggest the enclosing of a space for religious purposes. There were no formal religious organisations. Every one in the social group was assumed to take part in the religious exercises and every group organised its religious phase. In later centuries religion became

somewhat set apart from the rest of the life and manifested itself in distinctive institution." (Bogardus, 1959 : 291).

### Religious Practices

The Chakmas demonstrate some similarities in beliefs and attitudes to the tribes of America, Australia, Africa and Polynesia. Though they are strict followers of Buddhism, yet animism is still traceable in their activities. Thus their religion is a heterogenous blend of the Buddhistic elements with graftings of an animistic foundation.

The manifestations of belief are expressed through rites and rituals. Pujas are a common phenomenon the purpose of which is to propitiate the gods and goddesses by bringing a relationship of the mortals with divinity. It is believed that favourably disposed divinity can confer immense good in worldly life of the individual. Therefore, pujas have a paramount importance and are considered religious duty by the believers. History of the pujas is as old as the history of religion. In Chakma society on the whole religion and rituals are inseparable.

Before we go into the description of pujas performed by the Chakmas, it would be fruitful to explain what ojah and Rauli mean.

(a) Ojah : The Ojah or a priest has a pivotal role in Chakma society. He is acknowledged by society as a man who has achieved enlightenment and possess supernatural powers. To acquire supernatural powers he requires monastic singlemindedness. He has to acquire sainthood by self-denying and ascetic exercises. But any one can become an Ojah if he fulfils the requirements.

The functions of the Ojah or the priest have much to do with magic. Magic is the medium through which they can assimilate these supernatural powers. The Ojah stakes his claim for respect primarily on his supposed mastery of magic. The ignorant people take the prop of magic to face a cruel destiny of the world. The people seek remedy for all their ills in magic. Sometimes, the Ojah plays an important role in the social and economic spheres. Just as magic and religion are interwoven together so the two cannot be separated from the personalities of the holy man who direct them.

(b) Rahri : A man of good conduct will be selected to undergo the harsh training of a Rahri. He will have to remain in a temple to receive religious training. He will be under certain discipline. His dress will be equally austere and will wear only saffron colour robes. The difference between a Rahri and a Buddhist monk is that former can marry and stay with his family together, which is quite contrary to the latter.

The Chakmas have several pujas which are to propitiate different gods and goddesses. For example

(1) Stnapatya Puja or Foundation Rites : This means the foundation and creation of the world.

(2) Chungulang is special worship at the time of marriage. The word, 'lung' means husband in local language. Generally by 'lungland', we mean fallow land. It is also derived from 'Linga' (Phallus), then 'langal' (plough). Therefore the meaning of Chungulang is kissing or acceptance of husband. Chungulang was worshipped by the Chakmas from the very beginning. In this aspect Buddhistic usages are remarkable. Chungulang became a custom and usage having connected with procreation, productivism and magic. There is no other scriptural rites in it.

The word, 'Chungulang' has a significant meaning. In Chakma language 'längia' means lover. In Bengali 'Chungu' means to drink any liquid putting lips on the pot or kissing. It is, therefore, a rite among the Chakmas related to procreation. The Chakmas worship Chungulang with a Puja to get relief from evil spirits. We shall deal first with the puja held at the time of marriage ceremony.

The Ojabs are informed earlier and he visits the household where the wedding is to take place. He asks for a bamboo structure called 'Changari' to be raised with seven pairs of bamboos. A small bamboo cabin will be put up on one side of 'Changari' and on the other side will be placed on a tripod made of bamboo splits. Two small baskets are kept beside the 'houses' - one containing rice and the other paddy. Another important item used is the cask of wine. The Ojab inspects the arrangement to ascertain if there are any irregularities. When the priest or Ojab is satisfied that everything is in order, a pig and a rooster is killed. Then the couple have to bow down before the head of the pig. The head and leg of the rooster are boiled, laid up on banana leaves and kept in the changari.

The Ojah orders them to exchange the casks of wine kept handy. When they have done accordingly, the priest or Ojah examines the objects kept on the 'Changeri' and foretells the future on the basis of their relative positions. If the fingers in the leg of the rooster are spread apart the couple will have differences in future. If they are close together a happy and harmonious marital relationship is assured. Similarly the rice and paddy in the basket are considered superstitious objects. The rice and paddy are weighed again. If the quantities of the grains have diminished, it forebodes ill for the couple, and if there is any accumulation, it makes for marital happiness and bliss.

The 'Changeri' is cordoned with a thread during the time of puja. The Ojah snaps the thread into pieces at the end of the ritual and with one of them he ties the right hand of the groom and left elbow of the bride and chants mantras. This Chungulang puja is a must for the newly married couple among the Chakma people.

(3) Jadipuza is another important puja for the Chakmas. This puja is held in the jungle because a sylvan semi-darkness and solitude are necessary for the godly feats to take place. On the appointed day



cooked rice is stuffed into a banana leaf packet and carried to the venue of the puja. The cooking of the rice is also ritualistic in that the person in charge of cooking it can not talk nor any one enter the place. Once again wine is compulsory for this puja.

At the place of the puja the rice is delicately laid. The Ojah will recite the mantras from the Agar Tara. If lumps of rice falls on the ground, it is bad omen. Around the banana leaf, coconut, banana, sugar cane and sweets are placed. Streamers are improvised by tying shreds of cloth on bamboo spikes and put aloft. When the priest chants the mantras a faint smoke has to be seen rising from the capsule. The smoke signifies that the god has been pleased and graciously accepted the reverence of his mortal devotees. Every one will then prostrate themselves in salutation to the invisible deity and a rooster and a pig are sacrificed.

Afterwards, suddenly a spider appears from nowhere and spin a web around the rice-filled capsule. It signifies that the puja is successful and is acknowledged by divinity. If no spider is seen it will mean the god has not accepted the puja.

In the puja the miraculous appearance of a spider may be said to be at the behest of Mahadeva. The aged Chakmas still believe that the world is to be

enmeshed in the web of a spider. Besides, there is a mention of a spider in Lakshmi's palm of the Chakmas. The story tells how Lakshmi came to this world with the help of a spider starting from heaven. Lakshmi reached the shores of ocean but could not cross the ocean. The spider came to do his sacred duty by helping Lakshmi to cross the ocean by spinning a bridge of web for her.

(4) Dharmakam : This puja is performed mainly to get complete relief and recover from any complex disease. The Ojah will ask for a bamboo structure called changari to be raised about 4 feet high. The puja is also called 'Ek Raittia', i.e., on any night of Tuesday or Saturday it has to be worshipped before it becomes completely dark in the evening. Rice, flowers, wine and some other things will be put on the Changari with a winnowing fan. The Ojah will chant mantras and gently strike the front side of the Changari by a smooth bamboo cane. Through mantras he will request all the devils and gods to be present there and be satisfied with the puja. A boar will be killed and the head of it shall have to be in the Changari at the time of puja. All the materials prepared on the occasion shall have to be eaten up in the same night. That is why it is known as 'Ek Raittia' or one night worship.

(5) **Thanmana :** It is celebrated once a year and generally takes place in the month of January / February. Villagers arrange this expensive ritual by pooling subscriptions. The place for the puja is selected in the streamlet or rivulet near the village. This puja is to assure a high yield of crops for the villagers.

Two bamboo-made pedestals, one big and one small are erected in knee-deep water where villagers will converge for the puja. The bigger pole is for the 'bigger' deities like Ganga, Biatra, Parameswari, Bhut etc., and the smaller one is for the deities like Magani Shiji, Lojya, Thakur etc., who are considered to be smaller. The pedestal is raised on four main pillars of bamboo with a few supporting props. The four main pillars are overhung with images of an ear of paddy. The other posts are spiked with images of cotton. Besides images of ears of paddy are raised aloft all around the puja pandal.

At the middle of the four sided pedestal a clod of earth is placed. A few ears of paddy, cotton and a few flowers are stuck in the middle of the clay lamp.

When everything is in order the Ojah kneels on the water and starts the puja. The ojah sprinkles water on the pedestals while chanting the mantras. The meaning of the mantra is : May the god and goddesses bless everybody, be he in the field, in the market place or anywhere else.

When chanting of the mantra is over, the Ojah takes two jack fruit leaves in between his ring and middle finger and tosses them in the water to tell the auspiciousness or inauspiciousness of the event. If both the leaves fall in a similar position, that is either flat or back on the water, it is a bad omen. If one falls flat and the other on its back then it is a good sign. The exercise has to be repeated till a positive sign is achieved and everytime the Ojah has to chant his mantra. If the moment proves to be auspicious the Ojah seeks permission to sacrifice a goat in the name of Mother Ganges or Ma Ganga. Then the Ojah sprinkles the blood over altar as soon as the sacrifice is over and resumes his mantra. After that a boar will be sacrificed in the name of god 'Ishana'.

Thus goats, boars and roosters are killed to propitiate every god and goddesses at the same time. Mantras are chanted and the tossing of the jack fruit leaves continues as before and sprinkling of the killed

animals' blood on the altar is also continued. These constitute the animism part of the tribal religion followed by Chakmas.

Besides the above pujas the Chakmas share with the Hindus Lakshmipuja, Nabagrahpuja and also Satyspeer puja.

#### Rites and Customs connected with Death

The discussion on religious practices of the Chakmas will remain incomplete unless a discussion on their customs connected with death is not undertaken.

After the death the corpse is bathed and dressed with a piece of new white cloth and is then placed on a bamboo bier. The villagers and the relatives of the deceased spend the whole night with the beating of a drum (Dhul). Then on some suitable day, specially in the afternoon the corpse is carried to the burning ghat. It is not taken out on Wednesdays. Before the corpse is taken out one end of the seven strings of thread is tied to the little toe of the corpse and the other end to the little toe of a fowl. The relatives of the dead catch hold of the fowl. Then an aged man of the village who is the expert, cuts the thread asunder indicating that the link between the living and the dead is no more.

In the case of the rich person, the bier made of wood is in various designs and is placed on a chariot and is pulled from the opposite direction. Burning is the usual mode of disposal of the dead bodies. If the dead person is a male, then the body is placed on five layers of wood, with the head directed towards the east, but in the case of a woman, it is placed on seven layers of wood with the head directed towards the west. Members of the deceased walk around the pyre seven times and finally set fire to the corpse. After this the persons present kindle the fire from various directions. Four bamboo poles by tying with shread of white cloth are placed in four corners and put aloft above the pyre as if the cloth does not get fire. If the piece of cloth gets burnt, it is an evil omen. When the burning is complete the mourners take their bath and return home and take bitter soup.

Children whose teeth have not erupted are buried. But they can also be burnt. Persons who have died of smallpox, cholera, etc., are first buried, then they are unearthed some two or three months later and then burnt properly. If a woman dies in pregnancy, the uterus is slit open and the foetus is taken out. Then the mother and the foetus are burnt together but sometimes the foetus is buried.

When a person dies under the supposed influence of a spirit, then a half portion of a dao is permeated through the head. The body will be cut below the chest when half burnt. The chakmas believe this act is essential without which the corpse will become alive and cause great mischief.

#### Floating of the Bones

Next morning some half-burnt bones of the dead are collected and the rest are thrown into the water. They are placed inside an earthen vessel and its mouth closed. One member descends into water and ties a piece of string to his little finger, the other end of the string is pulled by a senior member of the same clan. When the vessel sinks, he immerses himself in the water and pushes it. If the deceased is father or mother the sons shave their heads. Mourning will be observed for six days, during which time no blood relation may eat fish or meat.

#### Sradha

This is performed either on the seventh day after death or on the seventh day after cremation. Various gifts are offered to please the spirit of the deceased during the ceremony. The ceremony is performed

by the Buddhist monk. The villagers and relatives attend the ceremony.

The Offering of Pinda (Bhadya)

The offering of Pinda is restricted only to the members of the same goshi. In the cremation ground two small spaces are enclosed by bamboo fencing, for the spirits of the deceased male and female members of the family. On the early morning the spirits are invited when some of the members present faint. The person who has fainted is addressed in the names of various ancestors, in the course of which he regains consciousness. The descendants of that ancestor very eagerly satisfy the desires of the fainted person.

Next morning the priest reads various texts and the members of the family place various offerings which are dedicated to the spirits by the priests.

If an insect chances to fall on the offering then the ancestor is thought to have been born as an insect and it is considered that the insect would die and its soul would be emancipated as soon as the pinda is offered to the spirit.

The next morning, some persons may faint. If so, then he is treated with considerable respect as being possessed by one of their ancestors. (Basu, 1931 : 213-223).



Apart from the above rites and rituals, the Genkhali (bards) sing the songs of Chakma King; they are invited on festive occasions. On such occasions there is merry making and feasting which continues for many nights. These bards tell in musical terms the tale of the love and final parting of Madhanchan Dhanapati. These stories give an idea of the social customs and ways of life of the Chakmas of those days. They also narrate the stories of the pious king Sadingiri, Lakshmi, the Goddess of riches and langia the love affairs.

#### Buddhism And the Chakmas

Apart from the Chakmas there are the Marmas, the Chaks, the Khyangs and the Tangchangyas, who are also Buddhists in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The Tipras and the Riangs follow Hinduism and the Lushais, the Panxhos and the Bonjogis are Christians. The rest of the tribes have no established religion - they are animistic.

It is difficult to ascertain whether Buddhism spread to Bangladesh during the life-time of the Buddha or after his Mahaparinirvana. But it is known from historical records that ancient Bangladesh came under the Buddhist influence as part of Emperor Ashoka's vast empire in the 3rd Century A.D. Ancient Bangladesh was

ruled by many dynasties; Pushyemitra, Kaniska, Gupta, Khadgas, Pala etc. were the rulers from 3rd Century to 12th Century A.D. During this time Buddhism flourished and became a dominant social and intellectual influence.

The famous Chinese pilgrim, Fa-Hien had written in his travel account as having seen Buddhism in a flourishing condition when he visited Bengal in the Fifth Century A.D. Hsien Tsang another famous Chinese Traveller had extensively toured ancient Bengal in the Seventh Century A.D. (Chakma, 1983 : 17). He saw hundreds of vast monasteries and centres belonging to the monks and followers of Buddhism in Samatata (Eastern Bengal). The ancient Bangladesh was under the spell of Buddhist influence and has been testified by numerous archeological discoveries of stupas, monasteries and a large number of other architectural remains discovered from different places of Bangladesh. From the above analysis perhaps, Dr. Heinz Bechert asserts that "there can be no doubt that the Chakmas have been Buddhists since long." He stated that Buddhism spread to the Kuki land (Eastern India and Burma) during Asoka's time. When the Muslims conquered Magadha, a large number of monks fled from there to the 'Kuki lands.' Bechert asserts that the conversion of Chakmas to Buddhism probably took place around that time.

Buddhism progressed tremendously during the reign of Buddhist dynasties in the 12th Century A.D. But its later history is the history of decline. It was gradually swept away by the Tantric cult with the emergence of new trends of faith such as Vajrayana, Sahajayana and Kalachakrajama, debased by mysticism and esoteric practices. Buddhism lost its original significance and was reduced to Tantric Buddhism. Buddhism became a losing ground since it had no rituals to satisfy the religious aspirations of the common man. On the other hand, Hinduism was growing stronger by attracting common man with its ritualistic appeal with the emergence of the Sena dynasty, the Tantric Buddhism was gradually engulfed by the Sakti Movement and the more powerful Brahmanic faith lost its identity into the Hindu religious system and finally became extinct.

According to the distinguished historian and writer Minhaj-haj-Siraji, Buddhist monks were brutally killed during the aggression of Muhammad Bin-Bakhtiar Khalji in Bihar, Uttar Pradesh of India. He wrote in his book, Tabakat-E-Nisiri, that Muhammad-Bin-Bakhtiar Khalji by the force of his intemperance threw himself in the postern of the gateway of the place and they captured the fortress and acquired great booty, the greater number of inhabitants of that place were yellow

robed men and they have their heads shaven so they were all slain. A number of books were taken position of by the conquerors. When all these books came under the observation of the Muslims they summoned a number of local people to get information from the books. On becoming acquainted it was found that the whole of the fortress and the city was a college and in Hindi they call it College Vihar Nalanda." (V. Mahathro, 1983 : 3-4). Thus many Buddhists were either converted into Hinduism or the more faithful ones fled to neighbouring countries to protect their faith. Many Buddhists were also killed.

Some scholars suggested that Agar Tara (Agar means written and Tara means religion or faith) of the Chakmas represents texts of the traditions of Tantric Buddhism. But Bechert opined that 'Chakma Buddhism had always been of the Theravada type and the text of the Agar Tara collection must have been adopted from the collection of perittas current in Upper Burma and Arakan when the ancestors of the Chakmas still live there. (Bechert, 1973 : p.2.)

The following are a few religious scriptures possessed by the Chakmas written in their own language and in Pali.

1. Agar Tara
2. Sadwinggizi Tara
3. Anija Tara
4. Aarentama Tara
5. Sigalmogai Tara
6. Sarakdan Tara
7. Dasaparami Tara
8. Bara Kuruk Tara
9. Chota Kuruk Tara
10. Stri Putra Tara
11. Saradiza Tara
12. Padum Phulu Tara
13. Jahash Phula Tara
14. Cherak -hulu Tara
15. Padum Phulu Tara
16. Swami Phulu Tara
17. Bekhem Phulu Tara
18. Palem Tara
19. Prikudda Tara
20. Tallick Shashtra Tara
21. Biancharan Tara
22. -sbedika Tara
23. Buddha Phulu Tara
24. Rajina Tara
25. Sakta Sukta Tara
26. Sakya Tara

27. Fakiri Tara

28. Angara Sutra Tara (Sattar, 1975 : 35).

Besides the taras there are some other works of Chakma literature. Some additional taras deal with medicine and astrology. Some other books are written not in the language of the Taras but a more archaic form of the present day Chakma language. Rahrils have a number of mantra books in the Chakma script.

The Buddhists of modern Bangladesh are not historically linked with the Buddhists of ancient Bengal. The ancestors of present day Buddhists of Bangladesh are believed to be immigrants from Arakan. The emergence of Buddhism in the present day Bangladesh occurred therefore, due to immigration of the Chakmas and the Marmas from Arakan.

Engulfed by the Brahmanic faith, Buddhism was once wiped out of the country. After its reemergence in Chittagong in the 15th Century, Buddhism took fairly a long time to take a strong hold in a new place and had passed through various vicissitudes before reaching its present state of form. Soon it came in contact with Hinduism and subsequently with other foreign cultures and influenced by them. Hindu deities, rites, rituals, and superstitions made a deep impact on the socio-economic

life of the Buddhists of Bangladesh. The Mughal and the British cultures also damaged the image of Buddhism in this region. The result was the creation of a different type of Buddhism. While Theravada was being followed and practised in Burma and Ceylon, in the first half of the 19th Century, the Buddhists of Chittagong area deviated from the path of Vinaya, and were following a form of Buddhism which was inconsistent with the basic principles of Dhamma.

Then a new phase of Buddhism emerged in Chittagong when Queen Kalindee Rani, the last independent ruler of the Chakmas took personal interest to reform the degenerated Buddhism in Chittagong. To remove the corruption in the Sangha, she invited Saramada Mahasthavir, a great Buddhist monk of Arakan to her Rajanagar Monastery at Chittagong to teach the monks the tenets of Theravada Buddhism. Sonamedā headed the reform movement in 1864. This movement deeply affected the Buddhism in this region. The monks were reformed in accordance with the principles of Theravada and since then Theravada form of Buddhism is being followed in Bangladesh more vigorously.

The Buddhist religious books of the Parnas entitled, "Phaduttnang" translated into Bengali from

Burmese is a sacred book of the Chakmas. 'Bauddharanjike' was translated under the sponsorship of Queen Kalindee Rani in the year 1874. Throughout the book one finds moral instructions, sermons, and the story of the birth and Nirvana of Lord Buddha. The book contained 432 pages and was a vivid documentation of Buddhism.

#### Buddhist Monks and the Temples

At present there are about one thousand monks and one thousand temples in the whole of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The monks are mostly from Chakma and Marma community. They are greatly revered for renouncing the worldly pleasures and extending valuable services to the society. The temples are the common place to come in contact with the laity both in the morning when they come there for giving alms to the monks and in the evening when they come for Prisarana. In every village there is at least one temple and in some affluent villages two temples are found which are housed by a senior monk and his disciples. The alms are offered daily to them by one or two families of the village alternately so that their food needs are taken care of.

#### Initiation

The initiation ceremony of Chakmas is usually performed by the Buddhist monks in the temple. Generally



it takes place on the days of fullmoon in the month of Chaitra, Baisakh, Ashar, Aswin or Magh i.e., January, February, April, July and November, December respectively. When the ceremony takes place the person concerned shaves the head and is dressed with a sacred piece of yellow cloth. He will be under strict restrictive observation and has to stay in the temple along with the monks. Usually one has to remain as Sramana for a minimum of seven or nine days. Some stay in the monastery for more time also.

#### Buddhist Ceremonies and Festivals

The importance of a Buddhist monk is boundless. He plays a vital role during the time of marriage, at the birth of a child and the death of a man. Without them the religious life<sup>of</sup> a tribal Buddhist is inconceivable. Now-a-days, a monk also solemnise<sup>s</sup> a marriage. In this case the monk, after administering Prisarana, would recite some suttas to suit the occasion. Generally, Mangala sutta, Samapubbanha sutta, Karaniya sutta and Jaymangala Atthagatha are recited. The monk then bless the bride and bridegroom. When a child is born, the blessing of a monk is essential. To bring the new born under the fold of Buddhism, too, the recitation of some suttas is a general practice. The

burning or burial of a dead would not be possible without the recitation of some suttas by a Buddhist monk before hand. Similarly, the Shraddha ceremony cannot be held without the monks.

Apart from the above, the following festivals are observed by the Chakmas as Buddhists.

1) Buddha Purnima (Vaisakhi Purnima) : This is the prime festival of the Buddhists of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The aim of celebration of Vaisakhi Purnima is to commemorate the three sacred events of Buddha's life, namely, birth, enlightenment and passing away, which occurred on the same Full-moon day of the month of Vaisakha (May).

2) Kathin Chibar Dan : Another important festival observed by the Buddhist of this district. It is observed on the occasion of offering of yellow-robos to the monks. There are other festivals which are worth mentioning namely, Meghi Purnima, Ashari Purnima, Madu Purnima, Prabharana Purnima which are also celebrated by the tribal Buddhists with the solemnity and gaiety.

The Buddhist of the Chittagong Hill Tracts also observe Bahuchakra festival which is celebrated in the full moon day of above mentioned Purnima.

A circular enclosure is raised with hedges providing two doors, one for the entrance and the other for exit. A dias is built at the centre on which sits the monk who chants the suttas from the Tripitaka.

#### Data Analysis

In the survey area, it was observed that every household possesses a Buddha statue or photo in the house. They offer a small quantity of prasāda to it before 12 O' clock of whatever he takes as his food and in the evening they light a candle before beginning of prayer everyday. But in the morning worshipping the Buddha with flowers is also common. In addition to that they visit the monastery and pray to the Buddha sometimes.

Table No. 6.1 shows that 220 (70.06%) respondents visit the monastery regularly, 82 (26.11%) visit sometimes and 12 (3.82%) visit rarely. In all the four areas studied there is a monastery with at least a monk living in it. In order to maintain the monastery and to look after the welfare of the monk a committee is formed of the villagers. Out of them a responsible as well as religious minded person is selected for over-all supervision and taking care of the monastery and the monk. As decided by the Committee (every village household by turn) gives alms to the monk. This is an obligatory

TABLE No. 6.1 : Frequency of respondents' visit  
to the Monastery

Frequency	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Regularly	72 (63.71)	44 (69.84)	38 (60.31)	66 (88.00)	220 (70.06)
Sometimes	33 (29.20)	18 (28.57)	22 (34.92)	9 (12.00)	82 (26.11)
Rarely	8 (7.67)	1 (1.59)	3 (4.76)	-	12 (3.82)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

duty for all. The committee also looks after the performance of all religious functions in the monastery. In the festival occasions every body attends the monastery.

The monks have an association 'Sangha' of their own. This association controls and selects the monk for the particular monastery. The monk is highly revered. If anybody disregards him or does not visit the monastery it is considered as disloyalty to Buddhism. The monk then, ceases to visit that house. No Buddhistic

rituals can be performed without a monk. So the monastery is an organised religious institution which possesses a tremendous role over general people. Previously religious activities were to be done by Rahri but the Rahris are completely routed out instead, the monks have a stronghold in the society. This is a religious evolution among the Chakmas. Thus it is seen that there is a social and psychological binding to visit the monastery for every person.

The establishment of monastery and its ramification to the village is a recent phenomenon in the district. At the beginning of the Pakistani rule there was hardly any monk from among the Chakmas and monastery in the Chakma villages. When it was felt a threat to their existence, they began to rely on religious foundation which resulted in great change in religion and now Buddhism became a dominant factor in the society.

Sometimes a monk plays an important role in village affairs. In case of any trouble or sickness he is invited to the house for chanting sutras to overcome the calamity. This idea is being imbibed due to modernity. This outlook is mostly followed by educated persons instead of adopting traditional method of worshipping gods and goddesses. Most of the Chakmas cannot differentiate between the existence of God and

the Buddha. They believe that praying to the Buddha is same as praying to God. At the time of any disaster they remember God for relief. Early socialization also starts with the idea of God. Thus, believing in God is common to the Chakmas which is contrary to the Buddhist philosophy.

The data in Table No. 5.2 indicated that majority of the respondents both urban and rural areas have faith in God and nobody denies His existence. Their belief in the existence of God may be of many forms. The social milieu of the Chakmas still permits worship of some deities contrary to Buddhism, preponderates the idea of existence of supernatural powers. Apart from Buddhism other religions like Islam and Hinduism strongly believe in the existence of God. The Chakmas living side by side with Muslims and Hindus can not remain insulated from the influence of these two great religions.

Though the Chakmas worship the Buddha at home and in the monastery some of them also worship, some other gods and goddesses like 'Lakshmi' at home. The latter is mainly worshipped in rural areas. An attempt was made to know how many respondents usually worshipped in their houses.

TABLE No. 6.2 :: Respondents' belief in God

Belief in God	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamai- chari	Total
Very much	99 (87.61)	63 (100.00)	56 (88.88)	73 (97.33)	291 (92.77)
Sometimes	14 (12.38)	-	7 (11.11)	2 (2.66)	23 (7.22)
Never	-	-	-	-	-
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

TABLE No. 6.3 :: Respondents' Worship of Hindu Gods at Home

Worship	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamai- chari	Total
Regularly	-	8 (12.69)	3 (4.76)	6 (8.00)	17 (5.41)
Sometimes	41 (36.28)	36 (57.14)	38 (60.31)	44 (58.66)	159 (50.63)
On Special occasions	60 (53.09)	19 (30.15)	17 (26.98)	23 (30.66)	119 (37.89)
Never	12 (10.61)	-	5 (7.93)	2 (2.66)	19 (6.05)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

Table No.6.3 shows that only 19 (6.05%) respondents do not worship any deities. Majority worship either sometimes or on special occasions. In rural areas people worship Lakshmi at the time of harvesting of new paddy. Previously the Chakmas also used to worship 'Saraswati' the goddess of learning.

As stated earlier the Chakmas were influenced by Hindu culture in their way of life which resulted in worship of Hindu deities. Since Buddhism has no rituals to satisfy the material gains of the common man, the Chakmas worship Lakshmi, the goddess of wealth. This worship never conflicts with the faith in Buddhism. This is definitely for material gains only and not due to sanskritization but no doubt there was influence of Hindu way of life. The following writing will suffice to understand this statement.

"Since the days of Arakanese King, Ali Khan (1434-59), because of his father's asylum in the court of Muslim Sultan of Gaur, Muslim names and culture appear to have influenced the Arakanese Buddhists. As the Mughas and Chakmas came to this district viz Arakan, we notice adaption of Muslim names and cultural influence of Islam in the official seal of Chakma Chief in the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts. There is no wonder we came across the names like Jaffer Khan,



Shermast Khan, Rahmat Khan, Sherjan Khan, Jan Buksh Khan among Chakmas Chiefs. Even ladies in Chakma chief families had names ending with Bior Bibi and Hari Bibi. Even guns were named as Fateh Khan and Kalu Khan. Fateh Khans seal had been inscribed with Hijri Year, 1137, in Persian Character. Raja Jan Baksh and Jabbar Khan had seals with Persian inscription. Persian inscription on Jabbar Khan's seal bore, "Shri Shri Jai Kali Jay Narayan Jabbar Khan 1163." The Persian seal of Dharam Bakshi bore, "Jai Kali Shahai Dharam Bakshi Khan." Another seal of Chakma chief bore, "Allah Rabbi." (District Gazetteer 1975 : 49-50).

The statement shows that the Chakmas were very much influenced by the Muslim culture. But there is no such evidence of Islamization among the Chakmas, on the other hand they stuck to their own religion - Buddhism. When there was a danger to Buddhism in Chittagong, the then Chakma Queen Kalindi Rani took personal interest and set herself upon regenerating Buddhism in 1857.

The Chakmas also demonstrate animism or spirit worship on certain occasions mainly at the time of trouble. The Ojah performed all the pujas and pig, goat, rooster are sacrificed in the worship.

TABLE NO.6.4 : Respondents' belief in Worshipping  
God or Supernatural Powers.

Belief in worshipping	Range- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal chari	Total
Yes	38 (33.62)	61 (96.82)	46 (73.01)	69 (92.00)	214 (68.15)
No	75 (66.37)	2 (3.17)	17 (26.98)	6 (8.00)	100 (31.84)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

Table No, 6.4 shows belief in the worship of god or supernatural powers dominated the Chakma society. Out of total respondents, 214 (68.15%) opined in favour of worshipping the spirits and 100 (31.84%) are against it. In Rangamati 75 (66.37%) and in Khagrachari 17 (26.98%) respondents did not worship any supernatural powers. This trend is mainly observed in urban areas. This is due to the modernization of their outlook. We said earlier that once when Buddhism lost its original significance the Chakmas were very much influenced by Hinduism and other alien cultures. As a result Hindu deities, rituals, cults and superstitions made deep inroads into their social life. Since then the Chakmas

TABLE NO. 6.5 :: Respondents' Visit to Hindu Temples

Reply	Ranga- mati	Karlya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Go to visit	78 (69.02)	29 (46.03)	56 (88.88)	48 (64.00)	211 (67.19)
Don't visit	35 (30.57)	34 (53.96)	7 (11.11)	27 (36.00)	103 (32.80)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

worship some Hindu deities. They visit Hindu temples during Durga Puja, Kali Puja and Raj Puja (worshipping all main god and goddesses of Hindus).

It is seen from the above table that 211 (67.19%) respondents visited Hindu temples on different occasions. The Hindu community now considers the Buddha as one of their gods. During Raj Puja occasion the Hindus also worship the Buddha along with other gods and goddesses. That is why the Chakmas do not think Hinduism to be much different from their own religion.

Table No. 6.6 indicates that 164 (52.22%) respondents think that their religion is the best, while

105 (33.43%) do not think so. In Rangamati 62 (54.86%) respondents are found against this belief. These respondents are not conservative and orthodox in their thinking and outlook. In Khagrachari 26 (41.26%) respondents also possess the same idea. They believe that all religions are good to their respective followers and no religion should be looked down upon. This idea proves that some of the urban Chakmas outlook changed. Apart from the above mentioned respondents, there are 45 (14.33%) who cannot determine if their religion is the best or not.

Religion plays an important role in building up character as well as socialisation of an individual. In this context we assessed whether the Chakmas are influenced by the religion in their every day life.

It is seen from Table 6.7 that 268 (85.35%) respondents opined that their daily life activities are very much influenced by the religion. There is not much difference between urban and rural people in this regard.

It has been observed that the tribal charlatons (Ojah or vaidya) employed age old methods sometimes and cured some diseases. This is undoubtedly a set back to the development of scientific approach. That is why, still the older uneducated people are clinging

TABLE No.6.7 : Influence of Religion in the Everyday  
life of the Respondents

Influence	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	88 (77.87)	59 (93.65)	52 (82.53)	69 (92.00)	268 (85.35)
No	25 (22.12)	4 (6.34)	11 (17.46)	6 (8.00)	46 (14.64)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

TABLE NO.6.8 :: Medical Consultation by the Respondents

Consult	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Doctor	91 (80.53)	38 (60.31)	46 (73.01)	41 (54.66)	216 (68.78)
Cjahn or Vaidya	-	21 (33.31)	6 (9.52)	26 (34.66)	53 (16.87)
Homoeopath	22 (19.46)	4 (6.34)	11 (17.46)	8 (10.66)	45 (14.33)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

to their antiquarian system and not very well acquainted with modern medicine. From Table 6.8 we find that people from urban areas consult doctors and rural area people still cling to age old system of treatment by the Ojah or Vaidya.

It is seen from the above Table that 216 (68.78%) respondents prefer doctor's treatment. At the same time it is seen that homeopathic treatment is also becoming popular now-a-days among the respondents. Their number is 45 (14.33%), whereas 53 (16.87%) respondents still rely on Ojah or Vaidya.

#### Co-Existence of Buddhism and Animism

From the above discussion it is discernible that the Chakma society is blended with plurality of religion - Buddhism on the one side and Animism on the other. In the upper stratum, the Buddhist monks are found chanting sutters from the 'Tripitaka' to the followers and in the lower stratum the Rabhi, unorthodox religious priest chanting from the Agartars.

Before their arrival in present Bangladesh the Chakmas adopted Buddhism, which was not their original religion. According to their folk tales they had to change their hearth and home very often. Rangunia in the district of Chittagong was the capital of the Chakma

kingdom earlier. In the course of time failing to withstand the most powerful pathans, Mugals and Hindous they were driven away from their kingdom and were compelled to take refuge in the deep forest areas of the Hill Tracts and retained their faith of Buddhism for their survival. There are still a number of customs in Chakmas which hint at a form of Animism which is very similar to that of the people of the Burmese and Shan groups. A few Chakmas can be termed Animistic even now. Vestiges of the primitive animism still survive in the festival called Shongbasa. In this festival the spirits of wood and stream are worshipped either by the Votary himself or by an exorcist (Ojan) who is called upon to perform the necessary ceremonies. The demons of cholera fever, and other diseases are propitiated in a river bed or in the thick jungle, where spirits supposed to dwell are offered goats, fowls and flowers. The regular priests (Monks) have nothing to do with these rituals, which are condemned as orthodox. Side by side they observe all Buddhist festivals, visit the monasteries, give alms to the monks and pray for Trisarana. At the beginning of Bengali new Year the monk is invited to the house to chant sutras. This is done in order to secure benevolence for the members of family in the coming days.

Thus Buddhism and the age old customs and rituals of animism are interacting with each other in the Chakma society. This plurality of religion has been influencing the ethos and the philosophy of their social life since long. However, it is discernible that education is making dents in their society and the age old thinking and ideas are dwindling day by day. In their treatment of diseases formerly they used to rely on herbs and potions and mantras and bratas. Now they take recourse to scientific medicine. Moreover, the district is presently inhabited by different sections of people, who apart from the tribals came from plains land who carried germs of different diseases. These diseases are not cured by the age old methods. This is another reason as to why the Chakmas are giving up animism rapidly.

A question may arise how the Chakmas who are in small number in the country compared to the majority of Muslims in Bangladesh could retain Buddhism and were not converted to Islam or Christianity? To answer this question it is thought wise to describe first the meaning of conversion. O'Dea gave three characteristics of conversion. First "inclination towards certain kinds of religious doctrines on the part of people is highly influenced by their social position in society.



Secondly, some religious ideas reflect more universal characteristics of the human condition and therefore have a wide appeal which transcends the division of social stratification. Thirdly, social and specially social disorganisation, result in a loss of cultural consenses and group solidarity and set men upon a "quest for community" - that is looking for new values to which they might adhere and new groups to which they might belong. This implies that conversion - the acceptance of new religions - is itself closely related to needs and aspirations which are highly affected by the social circumstances of the people involved, although social conditions are not a simple and unique causal elements in such cases. (O'Dea, 1969 : 60).

Heinz Bechert (1967) narrated that the conversion of Chakmas to Buddhism took place in Arakan in their kingdom during Asoka's time in the 3rd Century. Due to severe repression of Arakanese king the Chakma King fled from the kingdom and took refuge in the Chittagong area under the Sultan of Gour in 1418. In course of time they moved to the north, created a principality and Pangunia was made its capital. The last independent ruler of this principality was Queen Kalindi Rani upto mid-19th Century. Later, they again moved to their present place of habitates in 1873-75 during the time of Raja Harishchandra.

During this long span of time they retained their religion. Even when there was a sign of danger to Buddhism in 1857, Kalindi ani took steps and regenerated it.

After taking over possession of the Chittagong Hill Tracts by the British, this district was declared as tribal area, imposing ban on entry of outsiders unless permission was secured from the district authority. Those who came here from outside the district at that time were mainly businessmen and traders. The number of these people were few who used to stay in the market place and never tried for conversion of any tribal into their religion.

There was peace and harmonious relationship existed among different religious groups of people in this area. The Muslims who were majority among the non-tribals never disturbed the normal life of the tribal people. During that time some affluent Chakma people came to Calcutta for higher education and adopted some Hindu ways of life. After they returned to their homes they introduced what they learnt previously. Moreover, the wife of Chakma chief Raja Nalinaska Roy was a Hindu lady from Calcutta, because of these reasons the Chakmas were influenced by Hindu

culture. Long back, Bairagi Vaishnavas have taken to visiting the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and have made a few disciples among the Chakmas. The outward sign of conversion to Vaishnavas are wearing a necklace of tulsi beads (*Ocimum Sanctum*) which is used for repeating the mantra or mystic formula of the sect. Abstinence from animal food and strong drink is also enjoined. However, very few Chakmas have been found to adapt to this degree of austerity.

After the creation of Pakistan the Chakmas felt a threat to their way of life. The Muslims who came to the Chittagong Hill Tracts either as businessmen or tourists were never welcomed by the Chakmas. Money lenders were usurers and unscrupulous and they never thought of welfare of the tribals. Thus there was no good relationship between the Muslims and other non-tribal businessmen or money lenders with the Chakmas. The officials who were posted in the district were without much contact with the tribals. Thus the outsiders could never influence their way of life, religion and faith of the Chakmas.

There are some differences in food between the Muslims and Chakmas. As for example, beef is the favourite food for the Muslims, which is taboo to the

Chakmas. Likewise pork is taboo to the Muslims which is the favourite food of the Chakmas. Due to these differences there was no Islamization among the Chakmas.

The Buddha belongs to Sakya clan. The Chakmas claim that they are the descendents of an ancient Sakya clan, who came from the Himalayas (seated earlier in the origin of Chakmas). Therefore, the Chakmas never thought of conversion to any other religion.

The Chakmas have their own king who maintained and regulated the law of the society through the headmen of respective mouzas. The Chakmas were divided into many sects and clans. These headmen were previously the respective heads of the sects and clans. So there was a strong social bondage within lineages. Moreover, the Chakma villages were inhabited by one sect or clan people. These people were so closely ruled by an organised monastery. If any one of the villager was converted to any other religion, he would have been socially segregated. Thus no conversion to any religion took place among the Chakmas.

Some years ago, the economy of the Chakmas was subsistence level. They could produce their necessities according to their needs except few items

which were bought from the market. Thus no material prosperity of Islam and Christianity could perturb their present way of living.

Three small tribes namely, the Lushais, the Pankhos and the Sanjogi belonging to Kuki groups are Christians in the district. It is not known when they were converted into Christianity. Some group of people in Mizoram and in the neighbouring States of India are also Christians. Thus it is assumed that many years ago these people were converted to Christianity. These people are really poor and still primitive in nature, because of the promise of material gain perhaps, they were converted to their present religion. Besides, some Marmas also converted into this religion. Various attempts were made in the past to baptise the Chakmas by many Christian Missionaries but without success. But there were some seasonal conversions to Christianity among the Chakmas. When there was any scarcity of food and clothing they used to go to the Christian Missions to receive help and were converted but when they returned home they became Buddhists again. Afterwards the missionary people never tried to convert the Chakmas to Christianity.

From the above discussion, it is seen that religion is related to the changes involved in a variety of ways. The organised monastery and the monks are the two complementary elements variously related which is bringing about changes in the Chakma society. These are the important support for social development. Thus Buddhism, its ideas and values are playing an important role in the presentation of their identity. Due to modernisation the age old thinking and ideas are dwindling gradually. Instead of using herbs, potions and mantras and bratas the Chakmas are found to take recourse to scientific treatment. We can then say that a tremendous change in social life of the Chakmas is perceptible.

The Chakma religion is a heterogeneous blend of the Buddhistic elements which is grafted on an Animistic foundation. In the upper stratum the Buddhist monks are found chanting sutras from 'Tri-pitaka' to the followers and in the lower stratum the Rahri, unorthodox religious priest chanting mantras from Agartara. The Rahris are no more functioning in the society. Though the Chakmas follow Buddhism yet vestiges of Animism still survive in their customs. They worship many deities in case of troubles but side by side they observe all Buddhistic festivals,

visit monasteries, give alms to the monks and pray for Lisarans. Thus Buddhism and the age old customs and rituals of animism are interacting with each other in the Chakma society. This plurality of religion has influencing the philosophy of their social life since long.

However, it is now discernible that the age old idea of worshipping supernatural powers and Animistic rituals are dwindling day by day due to their education and modern outlook. The organised monastery and the monks are the two complementary elements variously related which is bringing about changes in the Chakma society. Various attempts have been made in the past to baptise the Chakmas by many Christian Missionaries but without success. Though they are living side by side with the Muslims, no Islamisation of any Chakmas took place. In context of sanskritization it can be stated that in spite of some sort of cultural impact by the Hindu society prevailing in the Chakma society, the process of sanskritization is absent in this society. Though there is much influence of two militant religions- Islam and Christianity yet the Chakmas could retain their own religion. This is due to the fact that the ideas and values as well as organised monastery are playing vital role for preservation of their identity.

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## Chapter VII

### Migration and its Impact and development of Political Insurgency

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## CHAPTER VII

MIGRATION AND ITS IMPACT AND DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL  
INSURGENCY

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## CHAPTER VII

MIGRATION, ITS IMPACT AND  
DEVELOPMENT OF POLITICAL  
INSURGENCY

Any serious analysis of tribal social change in the Chittagong Hill Tracts must come to grips with the issues of social mobility that was caused on account of displacement of a great number of people due to the construction of Karnafuli Hydro-electric Project and its formation of the reservoir. Social mobility is of two types - horizontal and vertical. Horizontal mobility refers to the movement of persons from one place to another and is generally comprehended under the familiar term 'migration'. Vertical mobility refers to the movement from one social status to another, such as from one occupation to another. Our main postulate here is to describe the former term to focus upon how social change took place in a tribal society due to migration.

When we look into the history of the world, we find that human beings have migrated from one place

to another in hordes, families, clans and tribes. Generally, migration means a change of location of a person or a group in physical space. Not all changes in location are regarded as migration. Migration does not include the following sorts of movements :

- 1) when an individual moves from home to place of work
- 2) On the occasion when a person takes trips to and from other communities or localities
- 3) Change of domicile from one section of a community to another. (Nelson, 1955: 122).

On the otherhand, migration includes the permanent change of residence from one country, state community or farm to another or the seasonal movement of people from one place to another in pursuit of an occupation. Migration may be of two types :

- (a) Planned migration
- (b) Forced migration

In a planned migration, movement of people from one place to another for some period is a common phenomenon in the rural areas. Some village situations encourage the inhabitants to seek work elsewhere during slack seasons only to the ecological situations where

agricultural labour demands are high and seasonal. Rural mobility generally increases in response to heavy labour demand at the time of harvesting. Labourers often take up harvest work outside their home villages. Such harvest migration is prevalent in some parts of Bangladesh and India. Moreover, an individual may move to any town or city seeking employment and when he returns to the native place he can live with his household members. But forced migration takes place due to many reasons. Political change such as partitions, independence, civil wars, changes of regime, racial and religious persecutions and the repatriation of the ethnic minorities. Calamities of nature like earthquake, floods, great fires and severe famines also cause migration and the need for rehabilitation. Apart from these there is yet another set of circumstances where the displacement is the direct result of the developmental activities like construction of river valley projects, and establishment of gigantic industrial complexes. Economic changes such as industrialisation in an area causes migration. This type of migration takes place mainly when a rural area is occupied by the government for the industrial set up which results in the displacements of the people from their homes and compel them to get settled in some other places.



The process of rehabilitation varies according to the nature of circumstances (among other things), magnitude and the urgency of the problem. The problems arising out of political and natural factors involve a good deal of relief work before the long drawn processes of permanent rehabilitation. On the other-hand the rehabilitation of people displaced from a valley project with which the study is concerned is characterised by advanced planning. Here we shall deal with the impact of a multi-purpose dam constructed in the rural area in the Chittagong Hill Tracts during Pakistan regime. We will examine how far the construction of this project has contributed to changes in the age old traditional societies of the region and particularly among the Chakmas.

#### The Dam and the Tribal Dislocation

The Karnafuli hydro-electric project is situated in Kaptai in Ghilachari Union in the District of Chittagong Hill Tracts. The construction work of Kaptai dam was started in October, 1957 and completed in the month of January, 1962. It was inaugurated by the President of Pakistan on 30th March, the same year. The dam had been undertaken with multilateral objectives;

1) To produce 1,20,000 K.W. of electricity for the eastern grid of the then East Pakistan (now Bangladesh).

2) To control flood havoc in the down stream of the Karnafuli river.

3) To increase the navigational facilities in the inaccessible parts of the Hill Tracts as the water level rises up due to storage of water.

4) To provide additional amount of protein to the acute protein shortage areas of the country by fish cultivation in the reservoir.

5) To facilitate the extraction of large quantity of timber from the inaccessible parts of the area. (Islam, 1978 ; 31).

The construction of this dam has brought enormous benefits to the nation :

(a) Thirty percent of the total production of electricity for the eastern grid came from the hydro-electric power station.

(b) The acute shortage of protein is being supplemented by average annual catch of fish amounting to 55,000 maunds from the reservoir.

(c) Contribution to the nation's economy through large scale commercial extraction of timber, bamboo and wood from the unapproachable parts of the region.

(d) The flood havoc and silting of the bed in the downstream of the river Karnafuli has been considerably controlled causing improvement in navigational facilities. (Islam, p. 31).

The construction of the dam, however, caused a major catastrophe for the tribal people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts particularly for the Chakma people. The dam created an artificial lake, which "inundated 253 square miles, 50,000 acres of settled cultivable land which is about 40 per cent of the district total cultivable area. Finally, more than 1,00,000 persons - 90 per cent of these were Chakmas - were displaced and never rehabilitated adequately." (Almut, May 1978 : 3). According to the estimates of the Chakma Chief some 90,000 people, majority of them Chakmas were affected. In addition, 8,000 Bangali settlers and 1,000 Marma Hillmen were also affected. (Ahmed, 1968 : 234).

Prior to the completion of the dam, it was estimated that 80,000 people would have to move. Of

these 45,000 were listed as primarily plough cultivators, that is members of families dependent primarily on plough cultivation. Of this number, 90 per cent were hillmen, the rest were Bengalis. Of the hillmen 90 per cent were Chakmas, the others Marmas and Tonchangyas settled in the middle Chengi and Karnafuli Valley and along the lower Rankhiang near Belai Chari. (Sopher, 1963 : 337). Taking into consideration this devastating dislocation, the then East Pakistan Government took a rehabilitation programme to build seven relocation areas to resettle the displaced people. (Zaman, 1982 : 11). It is reported that the Government had adopted a rehabilitation programme worth US \$ 51 million to relocate and resettle the uprooted tribals; only \$ 26 million were actually spent for the purpose (Kamaluddin, 1980). The relocation programme according to Sopher (1963) was faulty and inefficient.

However, the Chakmas in 1960 had to face some of the difficulties as indicated below:

- (1) to move to higher ground within their own mouza or one nearby.
- (2) to move away from the vicinity of the reservoir to :

- (a) the Kasalong Rehabilitation area
- (b) unreclaimed flat land in the upper  
chengi and Mayani valleys
- (c) some other parts of the district.

Headman could consult inventories of the unreclaimed government land, thought to be suitable for plough cultivation but only a few village leaders were able to get first hand information of some of these areas. (Sopher, 1963 : 362).

They were asked to take quick decision to move to new places since it was expected that low-lying lands in the middle Karnaphuli and Kasalong valleys would be temporarily submerged in the monsoon as it occurs now and preliminary agricultural work would have to be commenced before the settlement of the displaced people. According to Sopher, "Considerable persuasion and pressure was brought by the local Bengalee officials inducing the Chakmas to choose one of the options suggested above and quickly shift to that area." (Sopher, 1963 : 349). They were compelled to fill the "option forms" indicating their choices. The headman and other influential persons helped them in this regard since a great majority of the Chakmas were illiterate. Sopher observed that their choices depended on the advice of a

village leader. The leader was either a headman or an educated person who would normally negotiate the business of the individuals with the administration.

Only the choice made by the Chakmas were considered for implementation. The affected Marma and Tanchongya were treated as separate groups and were not given the option of settling in the Kasalong tracts. Without exception, Marmas and Tanchongyas who moved away from the reservoir went westward into the Marma valleys closer to the border of Chittagong District or southward into the northern mauzas of the Bohrang circle. The Bengalee settlers who were uprooted due to the commissioning of the dam received the special attention of the administration. (Sopher 1964 : 350). Special inducement was offered to them to resettle in areas marginal to the Chittagong coastal lowlands such as the vicinity of Sialbukha and Paisyakhuli. Sopher (1963) observed that "the largest contingent of plainsmen, numbering about 570 families were settled within the Kasalong tract, comprising of one-sixth of the households relocated in that area, to the dismay of many of the Chakmas. These Bengalees were settled on the best Kasalong land, 2000 acres of level, previously cleared land that was almost ready for ploughing, near the bazar and administrative headquarters of Marishya, whereas

the hillmen were obliged to settle in the rehabilitation area, where they had to clear thick forests and build houses while being advised that they would have to move to higher ground later on." (Sopher, 1963 : 351).

It was also observed by Sopher that in many of the larger mouzas's choices were based on individual preferences, with no relationship to the potential change in the community as a whole. The people of the plains area of the Kasalong below the Mayani mouth and along the Karnafuli around Rangamati, hardly had any option except to move away as the area would be immersed. This low lying area which was a fertile land was under plough cultivation. 43 per cent of the emigrant population were from six mouzas situated in these two parts of the reservoir area. The percentage of families moving away from cultivated lands was smaller in Chengi Valley mouzas. For example, in Bakchari mouza, 82 per cent of the Chakma population were plough cultivators, but only 38 per cent of them were forced to move. The reason behind the choice was that the Chengi valley is slightly higher and less flat than the valleys in the middle Karnafuli and the Kasalong. It was thought that most of the flat land would be submerged when the level of the reservoir increases during monsoon. With this idea,

the submerged area people prepared to stay near land that was submerged with the hope of growing a crop in the season when the water level is low. Those who have not exercised their options moved from their villages along the bank to new houses forty or fifty feet away to higher level with the hope of cultivating the land which will be available when the water recedes. It was thought that most of the flat land which would be submerged in the monsoon season, when the level of the water in the reservoir increases, will be available when water recedes in other seasons.

Likewise some of the population, specially plough cultivators of Subalong valley also decided to stay with the hope of utilising seasonally submerged land. However, a point commonly made by the people in these two areas was that the surrounding hills could be used for jhum cultivation as a last resort. Their hopes were frustrated when government imposed restriction on jhum cultivation.

Cultivated land lost by those migrants amounted to 54,000 acres. This was less than the government had expected to replace. After a vigorous search it became possible to settle the displaced persons in about 20,000 acres of flat cultivable land of an inferior

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quality. This resulted in a net loss of 34,000 acres of land. The Marmas or Tanchangyas consisted of 560 families moved west or south west along with several dozen Chakma families. But the Chakmas had little interest in the 9600 acres of potential ploughland outside the Chengi, Mayani-Kasalong drainage. The reason being that they knew very little of Sangi and Matamhari valleys.

Several Chakma families opted for Feni drainage area. It was learnt that the government was not inclined to urge settlement here because as Sopher (1963) described that, "it was considered inadvisable to settle discontented hill people along a border so open to India. Similar views were expressed by some Bengalee politicians about dereservation of the forest land in the Thega valley which borders India. Thus placing 'unreliable tribals' along the border was considered dangerous; instead the creation of Bengalee colonies to "strengthen the border was urged." (Sopher, 1963). The hillmen themselves were reluctant to settle along the border. The northern part of the Chengi valley now rehabilitated by the displaced persons is no more a jungle area. Logan Bazar, the northern most trading post in the valley was established nearly 40 years ago. The area was ideal for the Chakma

resettlement. Many Chakmas could carry out Jhum and plough cultivation since there is no pressure on the hill lands. Communications with other Chakma areas, particularly the home villages along the lower Chengi was easy. Moreover the existing Chakma villages were linked with the established bazaar was also an additional inviting feature. There was no uncertainty as there was in Kasalong as to what might happen if the height of the dam be raised. Panchari bazar, the focal point of the upper Chengi, is slightly more than two hundred feet above sea level.

The Chengi valley mouzas, Longeng and Chengi appear to have been the area of greatest attraction for Chakmas for resettlement judging by the ratio of land available to families settling there (1954 acres and 1351 families). Half of these families came from the lower Chengi Valley and the remaining from the Karnafuli valley below the Chengi mouth.

#### The Kasalong Rehabilitation Area

The Government gave more attention to Kasalong rehabilitation area for relocation to the uprooted people. For this purpose comprehensive planning was chalked out to implement the programmes. The available lands were brought under 'blocks' of varying width

running approximately east-west from the river bank. It was decided to accommodate the people of one of the mouzas in each block in the submerged areas. A limit of ten acres per family was fixed in lieu of the land lost by them. This allotment of land was left to the 'block leader' chosen from the hillmen. Lands allotted for settlement were not cleared and much of the potential plough land remained under a cover of tall trees. "Land that had been thoroughly cleared was set aside for the new bazar and administrative centre of Marishya and in part for the settlement of a large number of Bengalis." (Sopher, 1963). The Kasalong area mainly a dense monsoon forest was unfamiliar to the migrant settled valley villagers. The large administrative workers and the infiltration of a large number of Bengali cultivators irked the Chakmas. That is why many Chakmas did not wish to be rehabilitated in the Kasalong valley. An early dereservation of more reserve forest land would have attracted many more displaced Chakmas.

#### Impact of the Dam on Economy

The dam caused serious set back to the economy and life pattern of the people in the district. Due to the submergence of the area by the reservoir a tremendous change in the socio-economic and ecological conditions of the region has taken place. Choudhary's recent survey

among the Chakmas pointed out that "69 per cent felt that the dam created food and financial problems for them, 89 per cent said that they had to change residence due to inundation, 87 per cent faced problems due to change of residence 69 per cent complained of inadequate government help for resettlement, 58 per cent were distressed as they have no scope for employment at the hydro-electric project and 93 per cent felt that economic conditions of tribal people had been better before the Kaptai Dam." (Choudhary et al 1979 : 127).

According to Welch, "in traditional areas any new investment policies must be taken with caution keeping in view the prospective purpose it would serve the entire nation as well as the region. If the dysfunctional effects of the investment in the area outweigh the interest it serves the region, then the investment would have adverse effect. As Myron Weiner writes, "once the states take new investment responsibilities whether for roads and post offices or for still mills and power dams . . . the question of equity are posed by the regions, tribes, linguistic groups which make up plural societies." (Welch, 1967 : 150-154). what is known from experience elsewhere in the world is that early industrialisation always had either as its prerequisite or as a consequence depending upon local

conditions - the uprooting of the surrounding population from their lands, their concentration in the cities and transformation of the uprooted people into cheap labour to be utilised by the factories. But here the exception was that the affected people were not employed in the industries. The reason being that tribals are not yet fitted, psychologically or technically to fill the ranks of the industrial labour force. Workers presently employed in the projects are brought from outside the district. The tribal people could not be converted into industrial labourers. The economic and technical consideration for which the project came into existence with multilateral objectives is the main aim of the construction of the dam. We want to know whether the industrialisation of the tribal area opened up industrial prospects for its inhabitants.

Due to the displacement of people and the submergence of land, competition for both jhum land and valley bottom land became extremely keen. It is estimated that the average land holding of the approximately 9,000 families having permanent rights to land in the reservoir bed is about six acres. The extent of non-submerged lands of comparable quality available for allocation to these families was less than one acre per family. Because of the acute shortage of suitable

lands, additional lands were made available by dereeserving part of the Kasalong reserved Forest. If these lands also were included in the calculation, the extent of land available per family increased to only two acres. It is apparent that the area of non-submerged lands of good quality already available or made available for allotment was only approximately one third of the area formerly held by the families in the reservoir bed. As a result some of the affluent families who could not manage to get at least half of the land they previously held, gradually became unskilled labourers. Moreover, a two acre land holding is too small to be a viable economic unit and it was soon realised that not all the displaced people who had rights to land in the reservoir could be accommodated on lands of comparable quality elsewhere. As of mid-1964 the available lands had been distributed to 5,633 families- averaging slightly more than three acres, or approximately half the acreage held previously by families in the reservoir bed. This particular group was encouraged and assisted to supplement their incomes by establishing mixed plantations at nearby hill lands, (Asian Development Bank, 1978 : 2).

The dam not only submerged 54,000 acres of cultivable land, it caused irreparable damage to hum

cultivation. An average jhum cycle before inundation was 7 to 10 years or even more. This did not cause serious deterioration in the fertility of the land. But submergence of extensive jhum holdings, the natural increases in population and acute shortage of ploughable land as a consequence of inundation by the reservoir, have contributed for shortening the cycle to three to five years now. This type of farming is not encouraged by the department of Forestry because of the shortening of the cycle, quick erosion and consequent soil degradation have resulted in the destruction of timber and bamboo. (Gazetteer, 1974 : 88). So the uprooted agriculturists who tried to switch over to jhum cultivation had to face serious unemployment problems.

About 4,500 families who had productive lands in the reservoir bed could not be allocated any lands of comparable quality in the non-submerged areas of the Hill Tracts. For these families, the Revenue Department devised a special rehabilitation programme involving the establishment of mixed plantation on inferior soils in the hilly lands in the vicinity of the reservoir. Initially the Department's scheme did not provide for the allocation of hilly lands to jhumias displaced by the reservoir. However, subsequent modification made provision for this and some jhumias

in the reservoir area have been induced to adopt mixed plantation type of agriculture. This task was then taken over by the Horticulture Department Board earlier and since 1974 onwards by the newly founded Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board with its Joutha Khamar Settlements. The earlier rehabilitation schemes were based on agriculture. With the shortage of suitable agriculture lands, schemes based on horticulture were started later. However, technical difficulties came in the way; the farm incomes are low in some cases unsuitable areas have been selected, poor planting materials have been used, proper agricultural practices have not been followed and marketing of some of the horticultural products have become serious problems.

#### New Economic and Settlement Policies

The construction of the dam was followed by new economic and settlement policies in the Chittagong Hill Tracts by the Government of Pakistan. An eleven member team funded by western Air giving agencies, was commissioned by the government to report on the 'resource potentialities' of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The team consisted of geologists, soil scientists, biologists, foresters, economists and agricultural engineers. They worked for two years (1964-66) with helicopters, aerial photographs and electronic computers.



The study published in 1966 suggested:

(1) that the Chakras were in effect the cause of their own troubles because of their inefficient means of cultivation (Jhum), and

(2) that a whole-sale movement of non-tribals (outsiders) was justified in the name of economic efficiency.

The team concluded that however, efficient the jhum cultivation was in the past, today it can no longer be tolerated (Webb, 1966 : 3232). The team decided that the hill tribes should allow their lands to be used primarily for the production of forest products for the benefit of the national economy, because it was not well suited for large scale cash cropping. The report left the tribal people with no alternative but to assimilate into the national economy. "... more of the hill tribesmen will have to become wage earners in the forest or other developing industries and purchase their food from farmers practising permanent agriculture." According to Webb that a whole system of culture and an age old way of life cannot be changed over night, but change is a must and quick. The time is opportune. The maps and basic data have been collected for an integrated development towards optimum land use." (Webb, 1966 : 3274).

At the time of the survey there was a shift in Government policy, which formerly imposed severe restrictions on the settlement of non-tribals in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. "Under the new settlement policy the non-tribal people were allowed entry into the Chittagong Hill Tracts. Ben-alee people from the plains got some of the best lands in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and the displaced Jhum (Slash and burn) cultivators were not given any attention." (Walfgang May, 1981 : 22).

At present the Government have undertaken some projects with a view to enhance the economic development of the tribal people and to increase local participation. The Projects introduced by the government are :

(1) Forestry Development Projects

(1) Afforestation in Unclassed State Forest (USF)

The project is one of the components of complex programmes to halt shifting cultivation, and resettle the hill people and to introduce a cash economy. In the project at least one million acres of land unsuited for purposes other than forestry were placed under afforestation as per the Forest Land use recommendations.

It envisages the establishment of useful and valuable tree species on an area of over 60,000 acres during 1983-85 with a view to supply timber for local and industrial use.

(ii) Replanting of Exploited Reserved Forests:

The project visualises the forestation of areas which are within the forest reserves and maintenance of these plantations upto the age of 50. The plantations are established by the 'taungya' method. After the marketable timber has been removed from an area by the Bangladesh Forest Industrial Development Corporation (BFIDC), the Forest Department will allow the tribal people to practise a modified form of 'jhuming' in the area.

This method is known as the 'taungya' system. The 'jhumias' burn the area and plant their 'jhum' crops. However, they are required to plant trees. The Forest Department supplies the tree seedlings of the desired species, and instruct the jhumias to plant and tend them. The Forest Department pays them a standard wage for the time spent on the forestry work. The 'jhumias' tend the trees for one year, harvest their food crops which are intergrown with the trees. During the next year when the tree saplings are too large and give too much shade for most food crops they move away to the

next area from which the marketable timber has been removed.

(iii) Pulpwood Plantation in USA

The project has the objective of establishing 52,300 acres of fast-growing pulpwood species during 1980-85. It rehabilitates the 'Jhumias' within the project area and it is an important source of employment for the jhumias.

(iv) Forestry Development and Trading Centre (F.D.C)

The main object of this scheme is to concentrate on applied research and training at the technical and workers level in logging, plantation, trimming and extension. It has also developed an area for demonstration of shifting cultivation where proper land use with agro-forestry has been introduced.

(v) Rehabilitation of Jhumias

The Forest Department has programme for rehabilitating about 2,500 families of jhumias during 1980-85. The idea of rehabilitation of jhumias along afforestation programme includes giving 5 acres of land per family for raising short term and mid-term crops, e.g., pineapple, banana, bamboo, rubber etc., on lower

slopes. In addition to wages for afforestation works they will be provided with cash money and other inputs. Taungya cultivation also was allowed.

(vi) Other Projects :

The Forest Department has also programmes for bamboo and cane plantation of over 1000 acres in 1983-85, where the jhumias will find employment.

(vii) The Chittagong Hill Tracts Multi-Sectoral Development Project

The Multisectoral Development Project supported by the ADB (Asian Development Bank) covers three northern valleys, e.g., Chengi, Mayeni and Kasalong. It consisted of the following components :

(i) Upland Settlement Schemes

The schemes were designed to develop suitable upland areas into productive areas under rubber and horticultural crops (e.g., bananas, lemon, jackfruit, ginger etc.) The settlers are to be given 6 acres of crop land (4 acres for rubber and 2 acres for horticultural crops) and 0.25 acres for house plot.

The project will rehabilitate 2,000 families, of them 1,000 families in the Chengi valley, 500 families

in the Mayoni valley and 500 families in the Kassalong valley. The settlement scheme will be implemented by Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board. Under this scheme the settlers are given a grant for purchase of housing materials. They construct their own houses as well as develop their horticulture plans.

(ii) Afforestation and Settlement Schemes

Under these schemes about 18,000 acres of steep land in Chengi Valley are being allocated for afforestation with suitable number of species e.g., teak, chapalish, chikrassi, gamar, kadam etc.

Besides 300 shifting cultivator families, landless farm families also were located in villages similar to those under the upland settlement scheme.

(iii) Road Network

There will be construction of all weather linking roads in the district.

Besides these, there are Forest Industries Development Corporation Projects, Chemical Industries Corporation Projects are located in this area.

The following programmes are at various stages of implementation are worth mentioning :

1) Water supply, Public Health and Applied Nutrition Projects by United Nations International Children Emergency Fund (UNICEF).

(2) Roads Programme by Australia.

(3) Forestry Development Programme under Swiss International Development Agency (SIDA).

(4) Malaria Eradication Programme by World Health Organisation (WHO).

(5) Livestock and Fisheries Development by Asian Development Bank (ADB). - SIDS, 1983 : 110-122).

The local tribesmen have reservations about these development plans. It was feared by the tribals that the roads which are being built will attract more plainsmen to come into interior areas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. An attempt was made to know about the attitude and perception of the respondents regarding the development programmes undertaken in the district by the government.

It is seen from Table no.7.1 that 38 (12.1%) respondents held favourable attitudes for the developmental schemes. The reasons given by them are :

(1) Schools and other educational and cultural institutions will be set up and these will facilitate education for their children in the district,

(2) These will bring about modernisation in their culture and social life.

(3) There will be increase of business transactions and the producer will get reasonable market price of their products.

(4) Opportunities for work will increase and the poor people will get better wages.

On the contrary, majority of the respondents 276 (87.90%) were not in favour of governmental developmental plans. They felt that .

(1) The developmental programmes in the district will not change the lot of the tribal people.

(2) More people from outside the district will be coming and exploiting them in different ways.

(3) Non-tribal people will try to occupy and

(4) There will be no facilities for work for the tribal people as already the present workers are all from outside the district working in different places of the district.

(5) Tribal culture and heritage will be effected due to acculturation and disappearance of their ethnic identity.



TABLE No. 7.1 :: Respondents' Attitude Towards  
Developmental Programmes

Attitude	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Positive	18 (15.92)	7 (11.11)	8 (12.69)	5 (6.66)	38 (12.10)
Negative	95 (84.07)	56 (88.88)	55 (87.30)	70 (93.33)	276 (87.90)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

TABLE No. 7.2 :: Respondents' opinion regarding employ-  
ment facilities if industries are set up in the district.

Opinion	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Yes	36 (31.85)	16 (25.39)	23 (36.58)	28 (37.33)	103 (32.89)
No	77 (68.14)	47 (74.60)	40 (63.44)	47 (62.66)	211 (67.19)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

whether more industrialisation in the district will increase employment facilities to the tribal people was also enquired into

It is seen from Table 7.2 that 103 (32.8%) respondents considered that industrialisation will benefit them in the following ways :

(1) This will open the opportunities of employment for local tribal people and their poverty will decrease to some extent.

(2) The areas where industries are set up will be developed.

(3) Poor and landless people will get employment in the industries.

Majority 211 (67.17%) on the contrary, expressed their negative views. Their arguments are :

(1) The tribal people are not skilled. So Bengalees will get more employment facilities in the industries and gradually usurp the land from the local people.

(2) Culture and civilization will be effected.

(3) Requisition of land for industrial and residential purposes will affect their cultivable land.

(4) Already more Bengalees from outside the district have settled in the tribal area which became a threat to employment. The prices of goods will be increased tremendously. The influx of the outsiders will reduce the employment opportunities of the tribals. Tribals will be exploited further.

However, the views received from the respondents are both positive and negative based on sound arguments on either side. But the fact that the number of tribals working in the dam project, Chandraghona Paper Mills, Plywood factory and other industries established within the district is negligible. There is no training programme to train the tribals to become part of the workforce of these industries.

From the earlier tables it is seen that most of the people from both submerged and non-submerged areas have the negative idea in respect of developmental activities initiated by the government in the district. The government schemes for development envisaged have not been favourably received by the respondents. They are apprehensive that the non-tribals will usurp their opportunities and also exploit them. Their past experiences of the government schemes were the reasons for their negative attitude to developmental programmes.

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These tribals do not want to merge with the mainstream but want to keep their cultural identity.

#### Plainsmen Settlement and Its Impact

The people of the Chittagong Hill Tracts as stated earlier are basically agrarian and almost all of them are agriculturists. Previously, the tribal people produced all their daily necessities by themselves and were self sufficient and commercial transactions played a very insignificant role in their economic life. The tribal people are therefore, unaccustomed to business as a profession.

The construction of reservoir has, no doubt, helped enormously in the expansion of river communications to the interior of the district and as a result motor launches can now ply to the previously inaccessible areas of the district. Thus due to improvement of navigational facilities in the inaccessible parts of the region many non-local fortune seekers infiltrated into the Chittagong Hill Tracts and settled down in the district. The submergence of vast areas by the reservoir deprived the majority of the tribal people from producing many daily consumable commodities and made them dependent upon external supplies to fulfil their needs. This has also resulted in a heavy influx

of non-locals and unscrupulous traders into the area. The plainsmen control and dominate all non-agricultural activities. They are the traders, shopkeepers, unskilled and skilled labourers, boatmen and officials.

In 1908, under the Chittagong Hill Tracts Regulation No. 1, a specific set of rules giving the tribals certain facilities of internal self-government similar to the West African "Indirect Rule", was framed. This regulation provided that "no person other than a Chakma, Mugh or a member of any hill tribe indigenous to the Chittagong Hill Tracts, the Lushai Hills, the Arakan Hill Tracts, or the state of Tripura shall enter or reside within the Chittagong Hill Tracts unless he is in possession of a permit granted by the Deputy Commissioner at his discretion." (ADB Main Report, 1978 : 42). In 1930, the rule was however, amended and entry into the Hill Tracts was made easier for outsiders. In 1964 the restriction was entirely abolished and the area was thrown open to all. In 1964 not only the area was open to everybody, but the tribal status was also abolished and the district was brought under normal laws of the state.

Currently, several categories of people came to the Chittagong Hill Tracts as tourists, businessmen, traders or settlers - none of whom the tribals welcomed.

The lake created by the dam is large and picturesque, so the towns of Apatal and Mangamati have become tourist attraction. The tourists with a wider and more liberal outlook towards life, come to visit and have fun, but are alleged to have corrupted the tribal culture and their way of life. The outsiders came with an intention of making their fortunes and in the process exploited the tribal people. Therefore, outsiders in general are never welcomed by Chakmas, no matter what the purpose of their visit was.

#### Settlers Interaction with the Chakmas

Society is a system of relationships. The structures, functions, the statuses, roles and values of society are the stabilizing factors and limiting influences of human life. These are what we perceive first when we think of a society - social organisation or social system.

People transacting with one another create interaction in some measure and form. All science studies indicate interaction among elements and forces. In.s, social interaction is the dynamic interplay of forces in which contact between persons and groups result in a modification of the attitude and behaviour of the participants. (Sutherland, Woodward, Maxwell, 1961 : 99).

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Interaction also involves reciprocity or 'give and take' policy between the individuals or the groups. Thus social interaction means a relationship among the groups, between the group and the individual or between the individuals or between groups. A relationship is formed as a consequence of social interaction when reciprocity leads to repeated, patterned communication and interaction with accompanying roles and statuses. The relate means to establish association or connection; a relationship is a particular connection or alliance. The terms are used commonly to refer to blood ties or kinship or any kind of reciprocal enduring ties between persons or groups.

Nearly ten years back there had been localities in the Chittagong Hill Tracts where the tribals used to live almost segregated from the Bengalees by virtue or difference in race, language, social customs and traditions. With the passage of time when the plainsmen started settling in these areas and all these localities have also become habitats for Bengalee people. In many such localities the plainsmen overwhelmed the local people by a large number. As a result a conflicting atmosphere is always prevailing between the two communities. An attempt has been made to understand the relationship of the Chakmas with other communities.

TABLE No. 7.3 :: Respondents' Relationship with  
other communities

having rela- tionship with	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal chari	Total
Other tribals	74 (65.48)	42 (66.66)	50 (79.36)	56 (74.66)	222 (70.80)
Non-tribals	39 (34.51)	21 (33.33)	13 (20.63)	19 (25.33)	92 (29.19)
Neo-settlers	-	-	-	-	-
<b>Total :</b>	<b>113</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>63</b>	<b>75</b>	<b>314</b>

It is seen from the above table that 222 (70.8%) respondents have relationship only with other tribals in the locality while 92 (29.19%) respondents have friendly relationships with non-tribals also. Here, non-tribals are those who came to the district long before for business purposes and who are now shop-keepers and traders. They never showed any intention to grab the land of the local people. Thus the non-tribals always lived in harmonious relationship with the Chakmas. In rural areas they lived in the market or in the vicinity of the market and they never disturbed the traditional



social order of the tribals. The urban life in Mangamati and Khagrachari has provided extensive opportunities for social interaction among members of both the tribals and the non-tribals. The close living together with the Bengalis in the urban milieu induces them to integrate into the way of life of the Bengalis. But it is remarkable that no household was found in the study having friendly relationships with neo-settlers. The neo-settlers came from the plains and settled down in different places of the district recently. They are avid to grab the land of the local people. As a result the tribal people consider their presence (settlers, as a threat to the economy, employment and above all their social order.

However, it is observed that the Chakmas are ready to make an overture of friendliness with the neighbours, besides their own communities by inviting them on special occasions and in return they also participated with them when invited. Thus social interaction is established with them to a limited extent.

Information on attitudes regarding interaction of the respondents with other communities was collected.

Annex 2. 7.4 : Respondents' Attitude regarding  
interaction with other communities

Respondents' Attitude	Tanga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
On special occasions invite other communities	58 (51.32)	6 (9.52)	32 (50.79)	11 (14.66)	107 (34.07)
Accept other communities' invitation	40 (35.39)	14 (22.22)	21 (33.33)	13 (17.33)	88 (28.02)
Like to celebrate with own community	15 (13.27)	43 (68.25)	10 (15.87)	51 (68.00)	119 (37.89)
Grand Total :	113	63	63	75	314

The above table shows that 119 (37.89%) respondents want to celebrate their festivals exclusively with their own community whereas 107 (34.07%) respondents opined that they invited other communities on special occasions and 88 (28.02%) respondents accepted other communities' invitations also.

It is seen that a change in the interaction among the Chakmas is slowly taking place. They do not like to observe any festivals or ceremonies among themselves. The trend of interaction with other

communities is mainly confined to the town area people. This is undoubtedly an impact of education leading towards modernity.

### Changes of Outlook and Awareness

The people in the Chittagong Hill Tracts have been subjected to the impact of external forces and are in a transitory stage during the last three decades. The construction of the dam and the submergence of their agricultural land has made the Chakmas to adopt different professions for their livelihood. The Government of Bangladesh has introduced various developmental programmes for the upliftment of the Chakma people, e.g., opportunities for employment, development of communications, spread of education, providing modern amenities of life - all these factors played an important part in bringing about the change in the life style of the Chakmas. Education, westernisation and impact of urbanisation are some of the social forces. Political forces affecting the people were of recent origin. But in the past also the Chakmas were concerned with politics when they were affected. The following illustration is the best example.

Just after partition of this sub-continent in 1947, the three lakh Buddhists who were 97 per cent

of the population in the Chittagong Hill Tracts protested against inclusion of their district into Pakistan territory. Kamini Kumar Dewan of the ruling class of Chakma Chief had moved the Congress High Command in New Delhi to take up the cause of the people of Chittagong Hill Tracts for remaining with India. This demand was not accepted in the Radcliffe Award of the Boundary Commission which drew partition line between India and Pakistan. Kamini pleaded that the Buddhists of this area were culturally connected with the part of the sub-continent, which remained in India and therefore, this area should be considered as a territorial unit of Indian Union. This view was also shared by the Chief of the Chakmas and other tribal leaders like Sneha Kumar Chakma and other tribal leaders.

Immediately after partition, the Government of East Bengal in Pakistan applied its policy of repression in dealing with the tribal leaders. Kamini Kumar Dewan and other Chakma leaders like Anganaranda Dewan, Protul Chandra Dewan and Chanashyan Dewan were arrested. Sneha Kumar Chakma along with some students took possession of Deputy Commissioner's bungalow at Rangamati and hoisted Indian National Flag till the district was declared as a territorial unit of Pakistan. Immediately Sneha Kumar Chakma went underground and later

crossed the border into India. The arrested Chakma leaders were released on their reconciling themselves to the Redcliff Award. Kamini Kumar Dewan (later became a member of Legislative Assembly in East Pakistan) was, however, deprived of his Mouza leadership. He was also kept under internment for one year. Ghanashyam Dewan could not tolerate the idea of a handful of Buddhists going over to a state born out of communalism and therefore, migrated to Tripura in India. Protal Chandra Dewan died and Angananda Dewan stayed on in East Bengal reconciling to the situation. (Gupta, 1974 : 27-28).

Since then, some Chakmas were found involved in politics. The enfranchisement of the Chakmas widened their political activities and outlooks. The constitution of erstwhile Pakistan created constituency in the district for both national and provincial assemblies. Thus, the Chakmas exercised their adult franchise. At present a keen contest is seen in the area between the tribals and the plainsmen in the election of local bodies and in the Parliament election. Political party agents make frequent visits to the District before the election and promise many improvements if their candidates were elected. The political persons among the Chakmas are interested not only in regional affairs

but in State politics as well. An attempt was made to know as to how many respondents could identify the names of Political Parties in the country.

TABLE No. 7.5 : Respondents' Awareness of the Different Political Parties in Bangladesh

Awareness	Rangamati	Karailya Chari	Khagra-Chari	Kamal-Chari	Total
Can say	113 (100.00)	5 (7.93)	48 (76.19)	22 (29.33)	188 (59.87)
Can't say	-	58 (92.06)	15 (23.80)	53 (70.66)	126 (40.12)
Total	113	63	63	75	314

The above table reveals that urban people are more aware of political parties and could name at least the existing political parties in the country. Majority of the respondents 188 (59.87%) could identify names of political parties whereas 126 (40.12%) respondents could not do so. All the respondents 113 (100.00%) of urban area like Rangamati who were displaced people were aware of the political parties. This is due to the mixing and interaction of Chakmas with other migrant

communities. Similarly urban respondents 48 (76.19%) of Khagrachari were aware of political parties.

However, majority of the rural respondents are lagging behind in identifying the political parties. There were some respondents who were interested in world politics. They knew about political affairs by listening to the radio and by reading newspapers regularly.

The Chakmas sometimes discuss politics. State as well as Regional affairs are the focal topics of discussions. At the time of election they consult with and arrive at decisions as to whom they should elect as their representative.

Table 7.6 shows that 223 (70.06%) of the respondents consulted the educated people before casting their votes. Besides 27 (8.59%) respondents consulted their head of the household, 61 (19.42%) their village head and only 6 (1.91%) consulted their community head or headman of the mouza. The educated people are now given more importance for advice in matters of choice of candidates. The aged people are being given less importance since politics is an unknown subject for them.

This seeking the advice of educated people in the choice of candidates at the time of elections and

TABLE NO. 7.6 :: Consultation of Respondents with others  
at the time of Elections.

Consult with	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Xbagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Village head	25 (22.12)	11 (17.46)	9 (14.20)	16 (21.33)	61 (19.42)
Community head	-	2 (3.17)	-	4 (5.33)	6 (1.91)
Head of the household	10 (8.84)	8 (12.69)	6 (9.52)	3 (4.00)	27 (8.59)
Educated people	78 (69.02)	42 (66.66)	48 (76.19)	52 (69.33)	220 (70.06)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

neglecting the elders, who were not well versed in  
politics is a modern trend in the democratic process.

Like others of the country, the Chakmas also  
elected their representatives in recent years. There  
are some respondents in our study who casted their  
votes several times in the past. Table 7.7 shows that  
out of 314 respondents 35 (11.14%) casted their votes  
only once during the last 15 years; 90 (28.66%)  
respondents casted votes 2 times; 84 (26.75%) 3 times;  
68 (21.65%) 4 times; 37 (11.78%) 5 times and above.



TABLE NO.7.7 : Respondents who casted their votes  
during the last 15 years.

Frequency	Kanga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
1 time	19 (16.81)	2 (3.17)	8 (12.69)	6 (8.00)	35 (11.14)
2 times	47 (41.59)	9 (14.28)	22 (34.92)	12 (16.00)	90 (28.66)
3 times	23 (20.35)	21 (33.33)	14 (22.22)	26 (34.66)	84 (26.75)
4 times	16 (14.15)	15 (23.80)	12 (19.04)	25 (33.33)	68 (21.65)
5 times & above	8 (7.67)	16 (25.39)	7 (11.11)	6 (8.00)	37 (11.78)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

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This indicates the political awareness of the Chakmas. They attached importance to various factors in selecting their candidates. Some people gave preference to the party candidate, others favoured candidate's personal qualities and tribal clan identity.

The data in Table 7.8 shows that 148 (47.13%) of the respondents attached importance to the candidates

TABLE NO.7.8 : Respondents' primary consideration  
while casting their votes

Reference	Ranga- mati	Karalya- chari	Khagra- chari	Kamal- chari	Total
Party candidate	24 (25.66)	6 (9.52)	36 (57.14)	11 (14.66)	82 (26.11)
Candidate's personal quality	18 (15.92)	9 (14.28)	12 (19.04)	45 (60.00)	84 (26.75)
Tribe / clan identity	66 (58.40)	48 (76.19)	15 (23.80)	19 (25.33)	148 (47.13)
TOTAL :	113	63	63	75	314

who belonged to the same tribe or clan; 84 (26.75%) considered candidates personal quality and 82 (26.11%) favoured party candidates. Most of the respondents favoured the candidates of their tribe / clan except in Khagrachari. Here, the people belong to some other parties. They gave preference to party candidate, whom they considered would solve their local problems.

#### Prelude to Present Crisis

The origin of the present crisis in the Chittagong Hill Tracts may be traced back to the

construction of the Kaptai dam which caused tremendous disruption in tribal life. The schism between the then Government of Pakistan and the hillmen widened considerably following the abolition in January 1964 of the special status of the Chittagong Hill Tracts, which was granted under the 1900 Regulation. With this all officials belonging to different tribes were transferred to other districts, the tribal police was disbanded and all branches of the district administration run earlier by the tribals themselves was brought under the control of the central administration. The Bangladesh Constitution which came into operation in 1972 affirmed the abolition of the special status of the district.

Under the Chittagong Hill Tracts Manual (1900 Regulation), the administrative officials of the district are vested with unlimited administrative and judicial powers unlike in other districts of Bangladesh. As a result the grievances of the hillmen have only multiplied. The educated section of the tribal people viewed the existing administrative and judicial systems of the Chittagong Hill Tracts as a powerful instrument to subjugate and exploit the tribesmen. The respondents felt that the steady increase of non-tribal population in the district under the aegis of different governments both before and after the Independence of Bangladesh

have served to generate the ultimate aim of all governments that is to ensure that Bengali settlers will outnumber the tribals. In 1951 the total population of the district was 2,87,274 of which the tribals were 2,61,124 and the Bengali settlers were only 26,150 (90.1 per cent and 9.9 per cent respectively). At present the plainsmen number about 2,50,000. It is noticed that during 1979 alone the government allowed 2,00,000 settler families. They were provided with 5 acres of land, free rations and Taka 3,600 (Mantu, 1980a : 1510). The plainsmen slowly grabbed the lands of the tribals, controlled retail trade and marketing, monopolised the transport operations in the area, dominated the fishing industry, seizing every opportunity for their economic advancement. The impression is more heightened when the tribals realised that most of the decision making powers are in the hands of the plainsmen. These grievances have caused considerable resentment among the tribals. (Mantu, 1980a : 1517).

About twenty years ago tribals were literally lords of the land in the district, free to live according to their traditional way of life with no outside interference. Within the last two well remembered decades they have become not only a minority in their own homeland, but a depressed and impoverished lower

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stratum often working as servants of those who have taken away their lands. It was against the backdrop of perspectives that the tribals of the Chittagong Hill Tracts began to put forth some armed resistance. Though there is little freedom of speech and association in the district, political consciousness has grown among the hillmen (tribals) along with the social and political changes (Mentz, 1980: 1510). In the early 1957, a student association named "The Hill Students' Association" was formed which operated from Chittagong and later from Dhaka. It was shifted in mid-sixties to the district headquarter to Rangamati defying all restrictions following the establishment of the Rangamati college. Most of the front ranking leaders with a view to establishing their leadership over the tribal societies went to the countryside and joined the teaching profession.

In 1966 an underground political party, known as "Chittagong Hill Tracts Welfare Association" came into existence. The leaders of the organisation were split into two groups - one supporting peaceful movement and the other armed struggle for the realisation of the fundamental rights of the hillmen. Finally, the leadership of the organisational unit entirely went into the hands of those who advocated the armed struggle. It was dissolved in 1972 with the formation of the

'Parbattya Chattagram Jana Sanghati Samity (PCJSS) by its leader Manobendra Narayan Lama. The Samity initiated activities in consultation with the students' Organisation and Hill Student Association.

The crisis started soon after the emergence of Bangladesh when terror was first let loose in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. After Pakistani soldiers surrendered the freedom fighters entered into the Chittagong Hill Tracts from the neighbouring districts and killed many tribals mostly Chakmas. Subsequently, the now defunct Rakshi Bahini, a para-military force created by the Sheikh Mujib Government wrought havoc in the villages under the pretext of ferreting out the collaboration of the Pakistan Army and recovering the hidden stock of arms and ammunition. It may be pointed out that Pakistani Army recruited 'Rajakars' and 'Mujahids' from among the tribals at the late stage of the Bangladesh Independence War. During the operation by the Rakshi Bahini hundreds of innocent tribals were subjected to ruthless oppression. (Montu, 1980a : 1511).

A deputation led by Manobendra Lama, then Member of the Parliament from the Chittagong Hill Tracts called on Sheikh Mujibur Rahman on February 15, 1972 and placed before him a four point charter of demands. These were :

- 1) autonomy of the Chittagong Hill Tracts with its own legislature
- 2) retention of the 1900 Regulation in the Bangladesh Constitution,
- 3) Continuation of the tribal chief's offices, and
- 4) Constitutional provisions restricting the amendment of the regulation and imposition of a ban on the influx of non-tribal people. (Montu, 1980a : 1511).

It is reported that Sheikh Mujib advised them, "to do away with their ethnic identities." (Montu, 1980a: 1511) and "emphasized on Bengali Nationalism and Culture." (Haque, 1981 : 191).

During Mujib's regime more non-tribal people were allowed to settle permanently in the Hill Tracts. Repatriated Bengalis were rehabilitated in different parts of the district by expelling tribal people from their homes and agricultural lands were taken by force and distributed among the Bengali settlers (Kamaluddin, 1980 b : 34, Mondal, 1983 a : 1510, EPW 1978 : 723). The policy of Sheikh Mujib's government was to force the tribal people to lose their identity in the greater Bengali society (Samad and Majumdar, 1980 : 17).

Faced with the threat of losing their identities and traditional tribal rights, the tribals began to respond to governments' policies of 'detrribalization' through increased armed resistance. The PCJSS soon launched its armed wing called, 'Gana Mukhi Fauj' (Peoples' Liberation Army), popularly known as 'Shanti Bahini'. The Shanti Bahini is dominated by members of the Chakra community, who were the worst sufferers by the construction of the dam. A government source estimated that there were about 2000 more or less full time guerillas in the Shanti Bahini. (Kamalaśāin, 1980 b : 34).

The Shanti Bahini is said to have an extensive organisational network throughout the district. The main camp is known to be located deep inside the dense forests (Samad and Mujumdar, 1981). However, an officer of not less than the rank of a major in the Ganamukti Fauz is deputed to become its Director. The members of peoples militia is locally recruited and trained. The organisation is responsible for publicity and propaganda, control political activities, law and order in the country side. Its production brigades helped the cultivators to participate in agricultural production. The PCJSS has introduced its administration and judiciary in the interior of the district with the help of the panchayats, the administrative unit of the



organization. Collection of revenue is also one of its main tasks. Under the supervision of the Panchayats, land reforms have also been carried out. Apart from the Shanti Bahini which is the major organisation of the rebel tribesmen another organisation named Mukti Parishad (Liberation Council) has its strongholds in the Chittagong Hill Tracts areas of the Kanchangya sub-tribe. (Zaman, 1982 : 78). Thus the guerrilla insurgency in the Chittagong Hill Tracts by the Shanti Bahini and other armed groups have forced the government to deploy armed personnel which is now at the ratio of 8 : 1 civilians to police. (Wolfgang May, 1981 : 221, Zaman, 62).

In order to seek a political settlement of the present crisis, the government formed the tribal convention in 1977 apparently to maintain peace in the district independently with the rebels. However, this government backed Tribal Convention, has reportedly failed (Samad, 1980 : 11-13), to negotiate with the rebels for a peaceful solution. Instead the members of the Tribal Convention were identified as targets by the rebels (Zaman, 1982).

Meanwhile, the PCJS has called upon the government to fulfil the following demands to create a favourable situation for negotiations. They are :

(1) to stop intrusion of Bengalees and to remove the Bengalees who have so far settled there.

(2) to remove the leaders of the Tribal Convention from position of responsibility given to them by the government.

(3) democratisation of the measures of the 1900 Act through revision, additions and abolition.

(4) to take necessary steps to build up a powerful leadership of the tribal people comprised of tribal leaders acceptable to the masses and to confer due power and responsibility in the hands of the leadership for the creation of a viable administration in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(5) to grant general amnesty to all tribal leaders who were convicted or under trial.

(6) to remove all armed forces from the Hill Tracts and to stop military operations, harassment and oppression of the tribal people.

(7) to create scope for livelihood.

(8) to protect the language and culture of different tribals and to facilitate primary education in their respective mother-tongue.

(9) to properly rehabilitate the tribals uprooted due to construction of Kaptai dam and to stabilise its water level to prevent further inundation.

(10) to allot for settlement the agricultural land of reserved forest with land rights to tribal people.

(11) to carry out land reform and provide modern cultivation facilities.

(12) to give priority to hillmen in trade and commerce, arrange credit for them on easy terms and conditions and to abolish money lending system.

(13) to solve the unemployment problem of the tribals.

(14) to develop communication and solve education and medical care problems. (Zaman, 1982 : 79).

Thus, it is seen that the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts emanates from two reasons. The first one is due to construction of the dam and the other hand to heavy influx of plainmen in the area which is generally believed to jeopardise their economic life and cultural entity. Moreover the intensity of problem began to increase with new industrialization and new economic policies for 'resource appropriation' ✓

for the benefit of the national economy but with little or no participation by the local tribesmen. With new industrialization of the district, the bulk of non-tribal people moved into the Hill Tracts and made themselves numerically dominant over any single tribal group in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. (Zaman, 1982 : 79).

The situation of the Chittagong Hill Tracts has been described by Dewan as "with the emergence of Bangladesh this district has become one of the serious trouble spots of South Asia. The problem is similar to the Naga and Mizo movements in Eastern India, the Kurds in Iran and Iraq, the Eritrean movement in Ethiopia and similar movements throughout the world. (Dewan, 1979 : 9).

In the present situation the Bangladesh Government has two options for the Chittagong Hill Tracts. (Zaman, 1982 : 79).

(1) It may aim for a total assimilation of tribal culture within the greater Bengali culture through the currently apparent 'detribalisation' process.

(2) It can genuinely provide policies and conditions under which traditional tribal autonomy is possible. Historical evidence suggests that 'detribalisation' policies have been largely unsuccessful and the consequences have been either genocide or near genocide. (Zaman, 1982 : 80).

Amam (1982) has suggested that the Government has to adopt a tribal policy so that the present crisis should be solved. He further suggested the following remedies :

(1) The rights of the tribal people to this land must be legally guaranteed. The purchase or leasing of land to non-tribals in the Chittagong Hill Tracts should be stopped forthwith. A new land policy should be formulated outlying the use of tribal land by the tribesmen and returning all tribal land to government control so that transfer of tribal land to non-tribals is no longer possible.

(2) The present mass influx of 'outsiders' into the Hill Tracts should be halted by clear-cut policy of the government.

(3) In all industrial enterprises, business and commercial pursuits in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, tribals should be given preference over non-tribals.

(4) All educational and cultural policies for the development of the tribes should be made in conformity with their own cultural values and environmental needs. The government should assist the tribesmen in the district in setting up a primary education system in which their mother tongue would be the medium of instruction.

(5) Any further plans to industrialise the Chittagong Hill Tracts should include a comprehensive programme to rehabilitate the uprooted tribals, including their training for incorporation as a majority of work force in these establishments. The catastrophe resulting from the construction of the Kaptai dam must never be repeated.

(6) The extent of the civil administration down to the village level through the Union Parishad (Council) should be kept to a minimum. A system of indirect rule through the chiefs and headman may yet prove to be the most effective means of administration as was previously prevailed. The existing Tribal Advisory Body should be reconstituted with more representation from various ethnic groups and tribal societies like local social / cultural organisations. The Advisory Body should also be vested with more powers both for policy planning and execution.

(7) Finally, a national committee consisting of professionals in the field of tribal studies, high government officials and tribal leaders be formed to take stock of tribal grievances. Such a Committee should contain among other things a number of Anthropologists, sociologists unlike the multimillion dollar committee of 1964-66 with its helicopter and computers

whose purely technical recommendations landed Chakmas into a mess.

however, an attempt is now underway to overcome this crisis. The present military government in an effort to create the right atmosphere for the resolution of this longstanding crisis, has declared a general amnesty for the rebel tribals with a promise to honourably rehabilitate them in the society. The following measures have been taken to expedite the pace of economic and social development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(I) Industrial unit in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area employing 500 or more persons should have a minimum of the employed from among the tribals. Those having 100 to 500 employees will be required to have at least 4% of the tribals, and will constitute 50% if the industrial units employing them have 25 to 100 workers.

(II) One to five per cent of all categories of posts in government organisations will be reserved for the tribals. For Class I and II jobs in all fields of employment the present requirement of education qualification will be relaxed for tribal candidates except in teaching and technical professions. In other

cases minimum qualification will be relaxed to a reasonable standard.

(III) Arrangements for all vocational training for the tribals will be made by the Ministry of Labour and Manpower. The Chittagong Hill Tracts co-ordination Committee will select the training sites and the trades on which training will be imparted.

(IV) To encourage higher education among the tribals, seats will be reserved in Engineering and Liberal universities, medical colleges and Polytechnic Institutes. Financially handicapped students will be provided with stipends and scholarships through the Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board at the rate of 100 students a year.

(V) The Chittagong Hill Tracts will receive special budgetary allocation for accelerated development of the area to overcome the present economic backwardness. The Chittagong Hill Tracts will be divided into several "special economic zones" to bring about integration among tribals and non-tribals.

(VI) A Committee under the Ministry of Law and Land Reform has been set up to report on the situation in the Chittagong Hill Tracts and to make recommendations to modify the 1935 Regulation to make them serve the



present day needs of the tribal area in the changed context. (Zaman, 1985 : 58-74).

However, there have been some differences of opinions among the members of Shanti Bahini. The growing differences and factional feuds with the organisation led to a formal split on July 14, 1983 as a result of which the founder of PCJSS, Sanibendra Lama, was killed on November 10, 1983. After that in response to a Government declaration of amnesty from October 1983 to April 1985 many guerillas have laid down their arms. This should not mean that the guerrilla activities will come down in the area. It will depend on how the government takes steps to normalise the situation and bring peace in the area. The surrender of some members of Shanti Bahini will not create total congenial atmosphere for livelihood and it is said by Shariar, "it was one of the two groups which decided to shun the path of armed struggle." (Shariar, 1985 : 6).

#### Immigration of Plainsmen and Their Impact on Tribals

The Pakistani government abolished the Chittagong Hill Tracts reservation Act and thrown open the area to non-tribals. The facilities and concessions extended to tribals were abolished and they were brought in par with other people. Not only this, the Kaptai dam

was completed which attracted many Bengali migrants. As a result (1) the migrants usurped all the important and lucrative government jobs because of their education and expertise. (2) The tribals were ignorant of business and monetary transactions. Some of the migrants exploited the situation and established their business in this area. (3) Due to vagaries of nature, the Chakma agriculturalists took loans for cultivation in lean periods and when they could not repay the loans the migrants took possession of the mortgaged lands.

We find that immigration of plainsmen had an adverse effect on the Chakmas. The magnitude of migration of plainsmen can be judged by the increase in the number of Bengali settlers - in 1951 the ratio of tribals to Bengali Settlers was 90.1 to 9.9 per cent. However, the relaxation and encouragement by the Bangladesh Government for non-tribal migrants to settle in Chittagong Hill Tracts has increased the number of plainsmen from 26,152 in 1951 to 2,53,000 in 1979. This influx of the outsiders drastically affected the population ratio of tribals and plainsmen. The loss of land, the incapacity of the Chakmas to compete with the migrant businessmen has impoverished the Chakmas. The cost of living increased and their earlier self sufficient economy destroyed, and led the Chakmas to great hardships.

### Forced Migration and Development of Insurgency

The construction of the dam in Chittagong Hill Tracts caused the emergence of many villages. This led to two types of forced migration. Some of the villagers went into the uplands and settled there. The lands which they lost due to forced migration, were fertile and irrigated. While the lands they got in the higher regions of the mountains were not fertile with no irrigational facilities. The migrants who settled in places like Karalyachari became very poor, with scanty educational and alternate occupational facilities. The government's aim of rehabilitation of these forced migrants in alternate lands has caused immense, social economic and psychological problems.

The other Chakmas migrated to Rangamati and other urban areas. The urban areas did not have much agricultural land, so they had to seek alternate avenues of employment. This forced migration made the rural Chakmas to adopt urban ways of life, which brought untold miseries to them. They accepted lower status jobs and settled into the urban areas. However, the migrants realised the importance of education and started sending their children to schools. The educated

Chakmas highlighted the plight of the forced migrants about their poverty. These urban Chakmas of Rangamati compared themselves with the plainsmen and felt a great deal of deprivation and frustration. This brought about political awakening among the Chakmas. The Chakmas organised themselves into the militant organisation, such as Chanti Bahini. This forced urban migration developed into militant insurgency among the Chakmas to fight for their rights.

The political awakening spread to the other rural / urban areas like Karalyachari, Kagrachari and Kamalhari. Thus we notice the immigration and usurpation of opportunities by migrant Bengalis and the forced migration of Chakmas because of the construction of dam lead to the organisation of insurgency among the Chakmas.

#### Migration and Economic Development

The construction of the dam brought about economic development in the Chittagong Hill Tracts district. However, it shattered the economy of the Chakmas and brought instability in their economy. Immigration of the plainsmen and forced migration of Chakmas adversely effected the economy of Chakmas and did not bring any economic development to the Chakmas.

The construction of the dam forced about one lakh population to migrate from their home to other rehabilitation areas. Some educated persons settled in Rangamati. They lost everything they held within the vicinity of the town. A few of them were absorbed in services and some of them became small scale businessmen.

The people of Karalyachari village are illiterate and poor. They had to adopt horticulture and fishing as their alternative occupations. Their cultivable lands were totally submerged. If the climate favoured them they get one season paddy harvest when the lake water recedes during monsoon season. Horticulture and fishing, cannot substantiate their livelihood. They have to take loans or borrow money or paddy from non-submerged area people. So there is also indirect impact on the submerged area people. Thus the people are more upset about their future. The resulting effect was dissatisfaction among the tribal people. Their common complaint is that they are being exploited by the more advanced people coming from the non-tribal areas. Considering all these facts, the tribals of the Chittagong Hill Tracts began to put forth some armed resistance by the educated persons which resulted in insurgency in this district.

It is an established fact that throughout the world new irrigation projects, hydroelectric dams are built in the remotest places, where most backward section of people stay. They are economically poor and can not raise any voice against it. In 1960 when the Kawaai dam was built in the Hill Tracts, the people of the area were illiterate and could not make out the ultimate consequences of it. They had to migrate to some other places where they did not get adequate facilities as people. Though the dam created increased means of communication, development of administration and some job facilities, still the fruits of the dam did not change lot of the tribal people. So there is only marginal change in developmental aspects. This has caused great dissatisfaction and resentment among the people and has brought political awareness, which is evidently perceived amongst them.

In conclusion we can say that the Chittagong Hill Tracts cannot remain economically integrated with the rest of Bangladesh. Its vast natural resources, electricity, paper, fish, timber and horticultural products contribute enormously to the nation's economic development. The economic development must be accompanied by social and political development in order to avoid charges of internal colonialism to the

tribal people. The venture of social and political development however, should in no way be allowed to clash with traditional values which can be utilised conscientiously to hasten modernisation and political socialisation. The unpleasant feelings that the people associated with should be transformed into a blessing by making them of functional utility. If the indignation of the people is reduced they will, it is believed, identify themselves with the rest of the population.

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## Chapter VIII

### Conclusion

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## CHAPTER VIII

### CONCLUSION AND SUGGESTIONS

Introductory Remarks

Changes as perceived in the Life Style

Change due to Education

Change as seen through the Pattern of Occupation

Change in Agriculture

Religion as an Integrated Force

Migration and Its Impact

Policy Recommendations and Suggestions

Suggestions for Future Studies

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Introductory Remarks

The present work relating to a group of Chakmas - both rural and urban has been conceived as a contribution towards the general field of Sociology of change and economic development. The focus of investigation has been in respect of social changes pertaining to some of the institutional and economic aspects amongst this tribe in urban towns and rural villages. It is an attempt to study the impact of change which disrupts the existing norms, values and customs to such an extent that it is obviously evident.

This study bears some distinctive features :

(1) The findings of this work are based on macro-level as well as micro-level study. It is macro-level in the sense that it covers the process

of change in the social institutions and culture of the Chakmas and at micro-level, it refers to a limited group of Chakmas from rural and urban areas from submerged and non-submerged areas, which serve the purpose of reflecting the total Chakma traditions and changes that have taken place in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(2) The respondents are selected for the study to represent rural urban areas both submerged and non-submerged areas consequent upon the construction of the dam.

(3) The study has been focussed with time dimension from the distinctive angles - Past and present. It speaks elaborately about the social setting essentially as to "what it was and how it is now."

(4) The factors of change studied by projecting a clear cut demarcation of the time period i.e., construction of Kaptai dam in Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(5) The earlier studies of the Chakmas were of ethnographic monographs, but no systematic study highlighting the social change has been attempted by any Sociologist. The impact of changes has been distinctively felt from the time of the construction of the Kaptai dam and the dereservation of the

Chittagong Hill Tracts. These two time periods produced marked changes in the socio-cultural patterns among the Chakmas.

(6) Though the study pertains to two towns - Rangamati and Khagrachari, and two villages - Karalyachari and Kamelchari, it can be taken as a representative sample of the Chakmas of the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

(7) It is a study of interaction and adjustment with different factors impinging on the social institutions. The Chakmas desire and aspire to accept the innovations resulted in the social structure, due to the influx of the migrants.

The traditional Chakma society more or less tried to maintain its ethnic identity as before by not changing their Buddhist and Animistic religious practices. However, significant changes in the socio-political set up of the area has effected the entire Chittagong Hill Tracts in general and Chakmas in particular.

From the present study pertaining to social change in Chakma society, we have come to the conclusion that due to the above mentioned factors the traditional static Chakma society is undergoing transformation particularly by the educated people and generally by

other Chakmas due to intermingling with the migrant communities and also due to forced migration.

Social change has been perceived in almost all the institutions of the Chakmas.

In the foregoing chapters we have attempted to analyse and examine how the process of social change started in the Chakma society. The change that started since they came in contact with different cultures and environments from the Mughal period upto the present Bangladesh has so far been analysed in our discussion. The construction of the Kaptai dam in 1962 during Pakistani period has forced one lakh people mostly Chakmas to migrate from their hearth and home to other rehabilitation areas. This displacement brought about changes in their ethos, thinking, the very philosophy and style of living, while the life style of the non-displaced persons because of the fruits of the dam also changed to an extent.

We have endeavoured to identify a number of factors that led to the change of this society. It is a study of interaction and adjustment with different factors impinging on the social institutions, norms, values and customs of the Chakmas. The people's desires and aspirations to accept the innovations



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resulted in the change in the structure of the society. The changing factors interact upon the different institutions of the social structure and stimulate one another. It would be, therefore, necessary to deal with them individually. Some of the tribes of Chittagong Hill Tracts including Chakmas are acculturated in that their traditional cultures are no longer pure but have been modified through contact with the Bengalis.

(1) Changes as perceived in the Life Style

The Chakma society is undergoing a rapid change due to the impact of political, economic, legal and cultural factors. These aspects lay stress on their society and their way of life have been discussed in this work. From the present study pertaining to social change in the Chakma society we have come to the conclusion that as a consequence of the completion of the dam numerous urban areas have developed throughout the district and the Chakmas have accepted urbanisation as a way of life since the time they were displaced. The development in any sphere has impact upon the social life on another aspects of the community, and these people are trying to maintain their ethnic identity inspite of the dominance of the Bengali Muslims which infiltrated into the region. With

facilities of jobs and education local people from different villages as well as an influx of outsiders started coming into the urban areas. Employment in the government services made the employees come in contact with different people from different cultural areas. The impact of this contact and interaction between the groups along with different impinging factors are mainly responsible for bringing the socio-cultural change of this community. The changes have reached the inner core of the Chakmas tradition and induced a transition from tradition to modernity.

Thus a considerable change is perceived in the life style regarding dress, food, recreational activities, festivals, arts and crafts. Dress pattern of the Chakmas has undergone a total change. The men-folk have taken to the western dress. But the women still feel it necessary to use 'pinan' and 'Khadi' during festivals, though they use saree and blouse most of the time. The art of traditional dress making has corroded considerably. The art of weaving practically disappeared from urban homes and only a few of our respondents are proud to acknowledge the versatility of this art. Dress material which is mill made or manufactured elsewhere finds preference amongst the Chakmas. The daily necessities of the

working people have made them depend more and more upon the retail sellers and suppliers and market economy developed in this area.

Basket making has also suffered greatly in urban area due to non-practice of this art. Only with the exception of some older men, who are still conversant with this art, the others are ignorant of this art. So we find that what has been considered a gain through westernisation and modernisation by the Chakmas themselves is also proving to be a loss to the culture of Chakmas.

The food and drink habits of the Chakmas have also been affected due to the interaction with the non-tribals. Apart from their traditional food items they consume most of the food items like Bengali people such as biryani, pellow etc. Tea, coffee and other drinks have become equally popular to them. We find that the Chakmas mix more readily with neighbours, colleagues in offices and illiterate people also have made friends with other tribals and Bengali members. Leisure and recreational activities have therefore, changed due to this interaction with other cultural groups. On the level of individual habits, the educated Chakmas pursue hobbies such as reading,

movie-going and visiting relatives and friends to their house. The people of the rural area also enjoy movies on the market day. Besides they play football, Kabadi and other games during leisure times.

The Chakmas used to build up their houses on machans, raised platform. Now their houses are made on flat ground like the Bengalis. The change of this residential pattern is an important aspect to understand the change that is taking place in this community. The modern phase of exposure to plain peoples' cultures has led to a small amount of Bengalisation in some features of housebuilding in the Chakma society.

The Chakma language which has been corrupted with Bengali is due to acculturation of the people of the district which started after colonisation by the Bengalis. It is significant that in Rangamati the displaced people had more interaction with outsiders. And the reason for knowing the Bengali language by all the respondents is due to the fact that all tribal people have to learn Bengali for the purpose of exchange of views with the Bengalis and also because all business and official transactions are communicated in Bengali and in all these fields Bengali people are dominant.

However, a process of modernisation though relatively slow is evident in the Chakma society. The quiet hills which had been for time immemorial the domain of the jungle and the shelter of the tribals have been subjected to the influence of the an important transformation due to availability of electricity, modern communications and transport. Today its impact is superficial but it has the potentiality of a complete transformation of the Chakmas into modern way of life. At present there is a marginal change in their occupation to skilled labour and works which were unknown to them some decades ago. The traditional simple folk can not change in a span of 25 years, what they were following for centuries.

Since modern industrial occupation requires formal educational qualifications and technical training the Chakmas could not enter the mainstream occupation due to lack of education. But the forced migrant Chakmas and urban respondents realised the importance of education and started educating their children. Thus the Chakmas are in a transitional stage so far as education is concerned.

In context with sanskritization and westernisation it can be stated that inspite of some sort of cultural impact of the Hindu society is noticed in

the Chakma society, still the process of sanskritization is absent in the Chakma society. The trend towards westernisation is taking place rapidly. There is much influence of external factors on the Chakmas but no report of assimilation was recorded.

## II. Change due to Education

The impact of education on the Chakmas is exceptionally significant. The major change observed speaks for itself, that is about 62.42 per cent of our respondents had illiterate fathers. Now the trend for education has been completely changed. It is observed that education on a mass scale has been introduced in recent years. The education of the respondents was found remarkably improved in comparison to fathers' education, this fact is worth noticing.

We treat education as a vital component of the economic development. It is important because it imparts knowledge and skill to the individual and is functional in providing employment. Thus the field of education and occupation amongst Chakmas goes hand in hand. The parental generation of the respondents 65.29 per cent and 13.69 per cent practised agriculture and jhuming respectively, whereas our respondents due to education and forced migration have found employment

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in government offices and other occupations such as horticulture, fishing, business etc. Some were found to be engaged in more than one economic activity at a time. Education amongst a few Chakmas has spread to such an extent that besides Master degrees in arts, science and commerce, there are some Chakmas with a degree in medicine, Engineering, Agriculture and Ph.Ds. Education has brought about change in the agro-economic life of the Chakmas and turned them into a serving salaried class. Just as education has brought about a change in the field of occupation, it has made direct relationship with the changes in the economic sphere of this community. The Chakma community which lead a segregated life for a long time, due to education, urbanisation and forced migration has brought them in contact with the outside world. It has initiated a tremendous change amongst the men and women of this tribe also to an extent. Female education is becoming popular day by day. Women who are competent in the field of education and consequently in employment with men have positively changed their social position. The income they bring home has given them the esteemed position in this society. The rural area people are influenced by the urban Chakma dwellers. They are equally interested in education. Karaliyachari, the submerged area village can be cited<sup>as</sup> an example of it.

However the higher education perceived only among an infinitesimally small percentage of Chakmas, while majority of them have not come to the level of functional higher education. Even this small beginning will go a long way as the respondents have realised and expressed that education is the only tool which will bring economic development and social progress to their community.

Education and employment have influenced the size of family and the pattern of marriage. Regarding the size of the family, the educated modern women desire to have a small family consisting of one or two children. However, the pattern of the Chakma family is nuclear consisting of husband, wife, children and one or two relatives sometimes. Marriage pattern has changed due to spread of education. Marriage without formal ceremonies like elopement and abduction have grown less than they were before. Now marriages are taking place by formal ceremonies. A few civil marriages have started taking place when the guardian of either party did not agree for marriage. Now most of the marriages take place with the rituals performed by the monks instead of age old traditional system. Some few Chakmas have been started preferring mate selection between persons of different groups, such as



different tribes, race and religion. This heterogeneous marriage pattern is practised amongst the educated persons who have more chances for free mixing. Majority of the Chakmas have homogamous marriages.

Family planning is slowly being accepted by the Chakmas. It was found that urban area people have more knowledge of family planning and it is now being encouraged even in the rural areas.

Though divorce is allowed in tribals freely it was not found in our study. Likewise separation is also not encouraged by this community. Normally tribals practice divorce and separation without any stigma. We notice a change in the value system regarding divorce and separation in the Chakmas.

### III. Change as seen through the Pattern of Occupation

We have pointed out that the construction of the dam dramatically changed the economic life, social customs and behaviour of the people. At present the Chakmas are found to be involved in several skills and work for meeting their necessities for existence. In submerged areas agriculture has been replaced by horticulture and fishing. Horticulture is being encouraged by the government to grow fruits. The educated Chakma people are found moving towards urban

areas in search of employment facilities and subsequently settling there. A large number of educated Chakma people work for the government, some are in teaching profession, others are engaged in factories or work as contractors. A small proportion of the Chakma people are engaged in non-farm activities like business, trade and professions. Majority in urban areas are still engaged in unskilled, lower strata employment while in rural areas they are pursuing settled plough cultivation instead of traditional jhuming.

There is no doubt that the Chakma women work side by side with the menfolk in the fields as well as in the home, but this work is not individualistic but more on a co-operative basis. We find that the wage earning female has her own income which she can point out as her contribution to the household exchequer.

Thus the impact of urbanisation of the Chakmas social life is reflected through different factors such as education, participation in the services, business, trade and the administrative programmes of the government. It was observed that education determined their occupation as well as the status of the individual in the society. The Chakmas have progressed from machan

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ghar i.e., platform dwelling to residential houses from a jhumia to agriculturists and to a government official and from illiteracy to education.

#### IV. Change in Agriculture

With the advent of plough cultivation in the late 19th Century some Chakma elites brought Bengali cultivators from outside the district as share croppers of plough land. In course of some hundred and fifty years a large number of people have learned the use of plough. Basically, the Chakmas practised Jhum or shifting cultivation. The hilly terrain required considerable effort on the part of these primitive cultivators. Even their implements were essentially primitive. But with the spread of settled plough cultivation shifting cultivation gradually became less important and only 3.17 per cent in the Karalya-chari village was found practising this cultivation. Now land as a basic factor of production gained its importance. The Chakmas now terrace their land, use conservative measures of soil erosion or take help from agriculture officials.

The overall mode of production in the Hill Tracts was based on non-monetised semi-feudal peasant economy even a decade ago where the system of independent domestic economy prevails. Now the

economy changed from subsistence to cash economy. The economy of the Chakmas is becoming a monetised one because it is no more confined with production for use as production for exchange is remarkably noticed now-a-days. The economy has a target, based on the principle of surplus of production though it is not optimum. It was perceived that the Chakmas could realise that for the successful output it depends mainly on improved inputs in the form of seeds, use of fertilizer and pesticides, irrigation and multiple cropping. Acceptance of scientific techniques, water management for irrigation, utilisation of fertilizer, crop rotation in jhum land and change of old traditional methods are helping them to get a higher yield now-a-days. Mechanisation of farming, acceptance of new innovation in agriculture have helped the Chakmas to better their agriculture output. Though the development is slow due to illiteracy and ignorance of the people but a transitory stage has started. The changes are rapid in the case of educated people, who understand the advantage of the innovation and easily adopt modern techniques but changes among the rural people is slow.

#### V. Religion as an Integrated Force

The Chakma religion is blended with plurality of religions, Buddhism on one side and Animism on the

other. In the upper stratum of Chakma households, the Buddhist monks are found chanting Suttas from the 'Tripitaka' to the followers and in the lower stratum the Kahri unorthodox religious priests chanting mantras from the 'Agartara'. Before their conversion to Buddhism they followed animism as the spirits are worshipped by the exorcist (Ojah). This plurality of religion has been influencing the ethos and the philosophy of their social life for a long time. Education is making a dent in their society and the age old thinking and ideas are dwindling day by day. In their treatment of diseases formerly they used to rely on herbs and potions, mantras and brates. Now they are found to take recourse to scientific medicine. The system of Kahri is no more popular instead the monk has been replaced. Almost in every Chakma village there is a monastery which is housed by a senior monk and his disciples. The monks have always been greatly revered for renouncing the worldly pleasures and extending valuable services to the society. They daily come in contact with the laity both in the morning when they received alms and in the evening when people went to the temples (monastries) for Trisarana. The daily alms are offered to them by one or two families of the village alternately.

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Buddhist monks play such a vital role during the time of marriage, the birth of a child and the death of a man that without them the religious life of the Chakmas is inconceivable. Thus the monastery became an organised religious institution in the Chakma society. Everyman and woman visit the monastery which is obligatory to them. It works as an integrative force in this society. Because of strict adherence to the religion no other religion, viz., Islam and Christianity could influence them or convert them to those religions. They believe that through Buddhism they will be able to maintain their ethnic identity. Thus Buddhism is working as an integrative force to the Chakma society. Islam and Christianity practice conversion. Even though Chakmas are sandwiched between two powerful religions - Christianity and Islam they are not influenced by them.

#### VI) Migration and Its Impact

The construction of Kaptai dam and its subsequent effect caused a serious consequences for the development of the tribal people. It has exposed the area to modernisation. Currently the programmes which have been undertaken by the government - improvement of communication system is one of them. Thus the dam attracted many Bengali migrants. They are usurping all the important and lucrative jobs because of their education

and expertise. The tribals are ignorant of business and monetary transactions. Some of the migrants exploited the situation and established their business in the area. Thus the dam caused considerable amount of indignation and sense of isolation. This happened mainly for two reasons. The first one is due to the construction of the dam and the other the heavy influx of plainsmen. Many villagers went into the uplands of the dam and settled there. They lost the most fertile and irrigated lands due to forced migration. The government aim of rehabilitation of these forced migrants in alternate lands has caused many socio-economic and psychological problems. They were given inferior land and also less acreage.

The other Chakmas who migrated to urban areas have accepted lower status jobs. However, they realised the importance of education and started sending their children to schools. The educated Chakmas highlighted the plight of the forced migrants poverty. These educated Chakmas compared themselves with the plainsmen and felt a great deal of deprivation and frustration. This brought about political awakening among the Chakmas. They organised themselves into the militant organisation such as 'Shanti Bahini'. This political awakening spread throughout the Hill Tracts.

With all the distress it caused to the area, the dam has another side to ponder over. At present the tribal people particularly the Chakmas are involved in various governmental developmental activities. Thus equity and good conscience suggest that a combination of short and long term programmes if undertaken may raise the standard of living of these communities. The approach of self reliant and participatory economic development programmes can increasingly equip them to contribute more efficiently in the arena of national development. The modernization programme undertaken by the government after the construction of the dam has gone a long way in creating clear consciousness among the local people.

#### VII) Policy Recommendation and Suggestions

There is a feeling among the tribals that the loss incurred due to the dam can never be compensated adequately. If this feeling of colossal economic loss in the area is not removed from the minds of the people then this will enhance the disintegrative force of the district. The government has to gear up the rehabilitation programmes by creating enough employment opportunities for the local people. In close association with economic modernisation the pace of political modernisation and specialisation



need to be accelerated. But this venture should in no way come in clash with traditional values which can be utilised thoughtfully to hasten social and cultural modernisation. The unpleasant feelings among the Chakmas that the newly constructed dam produced hardships and is a curse should be changed by providing opportunities for them to reap the fruits of the developmental activities initiated by the government. To achieve this, the government should promote education, training in skills and reserve jobs. Also the area should be industrialised using the indigenous raw material and provide greater employment potentials for the Chakmas and other tribals. If the indignation of the people assuaged they will, it is believed identify themselves with the rest of the population.

As Bangladesh is in the grip of an economic crisis, the fruits of a hard won freedom may be lost if the foundation is not laid for economic stability. To provide this foundation, utmost priority for the speedy process of all round development is imperative. Inaccessibility of many tribal regions, inadequate facilities of surveying make it difficult to assess the impact of many development programmes on the tribal life.

Thus in order to appreciate fully well the numerous difficulties of tribals and to improve their lot some more suggestions are given below:

(1) Steps need to be taken to provide credit and link it with marketing so that the tribals get a fair price for their agricultural and forest produce.

(2) To ensure that the benefits of developmental programmes go to the needy and poor tribals, close and effective supervision of the functionaries posted in the district is very essential. This implies that higher level officers must be very carefully chosen while posting in the district. Some Chakma officers also must be chosen because they can understand the problems of their own people.

(3) The factors of an individual contact discretion and sustained endurance is absent in governmental agencies. Therefore, one needs to go to the district in the true spirit of a good scout and soldier to achieve the desired level of upliftment.

(4) It is quite necessary to ensure that the programmes formulated do not come into serious conflict with the social attitude of the tribal population.

(5) Any developmental programme should have the common consent of the village community; the phasing of the programme should be decided by the community itself after fullest consultation.

By and large we can say that the government developmental agencies should approach the tribal with affection and friendliness as a liberating force. Let the tribals feel that the officials come 'to give' and not 'to take' something away from them. We can not deny that the tribals have a distinct contribution to make to the emerging national culture. In short, the tribals may be assured that they can embark upon a new purposeful and meaning-ful life through gainful employment without any exploitation and enjoy the fruits of their hard labour and live as free and responsible citizens of the country.

#### Suggestions for Future Studies

We cannot deny that a work of this nature must have certain areas which remain uncovered. It would be fruitful if further studies were to be made about the Chakmas who occupy the better positions in the government. Studies should be undertaken about other tribes who co-exist along with the Chakmas in the Chittagong Hill Tracts area. Secondly, in this

study only the heads of households, mostly men, were interviewed but study of the women would help us to visualise the changes brought in the womenfolk, who normally have to face the brunt of changes in the society. Thirdly, the study of Bengali migrants would provide us with information about resource utilization of the Chittagong Hill Tracts area, which will give guidance to the tribals to improve their lot. Also studies should be undertaken to find out the reasons for school drop-outs in order to suggest ways and means of improving the educational system in this area. Unless data base is generated economic development and progress cannot be assured, so more sociological studies are necessary in this area.

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Questionnaire / Schedule

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Bibliography

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QUESTIONNAIRE / SCHEDULE

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SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHAKMA SOCIETY IN THE

HINTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH

The nature of this study is purely academic. Please respond to the following questions to the best of your ability and knowledge. You are one of our important respondents and your co-operation is vital. Since you need not write your name, your identity will not be disclosed to any one and the information will be treated as strictly confidential. The data collected will be used purely for research purpose. So please be frank and answer all questions.

SOCIAL CHANGE IN CHAKMA SOCIETY IN THE  
CHITTAGONG HILL TRACTS OF BANGLADESH

SOCIO-ECONOMIC BACKGROUND

(Please give tick marks where alternatives are given)

1.       Age       :
2.       Sex       :  
                  Male  
                  Female
3.       Name of the Village / Town
4.       Marital Status :  
              Married  
              Unmarried  
              Widow  
              Widower  
              Divorced  
              Remarried  
              Separated  
              Engaged
5.       Education :  
              Illiterate  
              Below Primary  
              Under S.S.C. (Non-Matriculate)  
              S.S.C.  
              H.S.C. (Intermediate)  
              Graduate / Trained in  
              Post graduate  
              Any other, specify

6. Occupation :
- Agriculture
  - Jhuming
  - Business
  - Contractor
  - Working in : Department
  - Secretariate
  - Institution
7. Any side occupation :
- Electrical shop
  - wine shop
  - Stationary shop
  - Cloth shop
  - Grocery
  - Restuarent
  - Hotel
  - Bakery
  - Selling Vegetables
  - Any other specify
8. Monthly income from all sources :
- Below Tk. 300/-
  - Tk. 301 - 400/-
  - Tk. 401 - 500/-
  - Tk. 501 - 800/-
  - Tk. 801 - 1000/-
  - TK 1001 - 1500/-
  - TK.1501 - 2000/-
  - Above TK. 2000/-
9. (a) Father's Education :
- (b) Father's Occupation :
- (c) No. of children : 1) Sons :
- 2) Daughters :



(d) No. of members in the family :

(e) How many brothers / sisters / sons /  
Daughters / any dependents are in school  
College, university or employed.

	School	College	University	<u>Employed</u>
Brothers	-	-	-	-
Sisters	-	-	-	-
Sons	-	-	-	-
Daughters	-	-	-	-
Any dependents	-	-	-	-

= = = = =

: = = = =

#### RESIDENCE

1. Village to which you belong :
2. What is the distance of your village from Rangamati
3. Is there any jeepable roads? Yes / No  
 Navigational Waterways to your village? Yes / No
4. In your village home do your parents /  
 Uncles live together? Yes / No
5. If no, then they live :  
 Near my house  
 Away from my house but in the same village  
 Separate village
6. How long you are in the village?  
 Since birth  
 Less than one year  
 1 - 5 years  
 6 - 10 years  
 11 - 15 years  
 Over 16 years

7. How long you are in service?  
Less than one year  
1 - 5 years  
6 - 12 years  
13 - 15 years  
16 years and above
8. Place where your grand-father or father lived:
9. Did your father / yourself migrate from your village due to the construction of Kaptai Hydro-electric dam or for any other reason:  
Yes / No
10. Has any of your family members migrated to town?  
Yes / No
11. What are the reasons for migration?  
Search for job  
Education  
Relation in the town  
Economic condition of the family
12. With whom do you live at present?  
with parents  
with relatives  
With own family  
All alone
13. Where do you stay at present?  
In your own traditional / modern house  
In government quarters  
In rented house  
In relative's house

14. Considering your normal living conditions in your native place, do you think that your present living conditions are :

Better

Poor

Almost same

MARRIAGE

1. Are you married? Yes / No
2. Your marriage was arranged / should be arranged  
Solely by my parents  
Mutual choice with consent of my parents  
By parents with my consent  
Mutual choice by bride / bridegroom
3. Did your wife get relatively more freedom than before? Yes / No
4. If you are married, how many wives?
5. If remarried, how many times?
6. Do you like your wife working outside the family? Yes / No
7. Do you ever go to visit your friends or go to cinemas with your wife? Yes / No
8. Are you in favour of  
Traditional marriage  
Marriage by Monk  
Civil marriage by registration  
Any other specify.
9. Have you any knowledge on family planning?  
Much  
Little  
Nothing

10. Do you think family planning should be encouraged?
- Encouraged  
Discouraged  
Undecided
11. In your opinion what should be the ideal size of a family in respect of children.
- 1 - 2  
3 - 5  
Above 5
12. What is your attitude towards divorce
- Approve  
Disapprove  
Don't know
13. Do you think that marriage should be
- Inter clan  
Intra clan  
Inter religious
14. Do you support exogamous marriages?
- Yes / No
15. What are the reasons that a girl / boy is fascinated to marry out of your community?
16. What should be the age bar for marriage for :
- Male           ..... years  
Female       ..... years
17. If unmarried on what priority would you give while selecting your life partner?
- Education  
status of the family  
Character

LANGUAGE

Languages known :

Name of the language	Speak	Write	Speak and write
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
.....	.....	.....	.....
=====	=====	=====	=====

2. Do you feel that instructions should be in one's own mother tongue? Yes / No

DRINK AND FOOD

1. Do you drink wine? Yes / No

2. If so, how often?  
 Very often  
 Sometimes  
 On special occasions  
 Never

3. How many times do you drink in a day?  
 1 - 2 times  
 3 - 5 times  
 6 - 7 times  
 Sometimes  
 Only on special occasions  
 Never

4. What type of food do you take at home?  
 Own way of cooking  
 All types of cooking

5. Any new type of food item you have introduced in your diet? Yes / No
6. If yes, what (specify)
7. Do you smoke? . Yes / No
8. How many cigarettes / beedies / cheroots do you smoke in a day?
  - 1 - 5
  - 6 - 10
  - 11 - 15
  - 16 and above

PATTERN OF LAND HOLDING

1. Do you have your own agricultural land? Yes / No
2. If yes, how much? . . . . . acres.
3. Do you have any land taken on lease for cultivation? Yes / No
4. If yes, how much? . . . . . acres
5. Have you leased out the agricultural land to others for cultivation? Yes / No
6. If yes, how much? . . . . . acres
7. Did you have any dispute regarding land in the last five years?
8. Have you sold out any land during the last ten years? Yes / No
9. Have you bought any land during the last 10 years? Yes / No
10. If your land is acquired by government / semi-government agencies, do you think the amount of compensation given to you was reasonable? Yes / No
11. Have you ever lost your land due to indebtedness? Yes / No

12. In case you received a plot of land do you think that the land given was equal to what you have lost? Yes / No
13. If yes, how much? .. .. . acres
14. Have you ever taken loan for-
- Marriage, death and other ceremonies
  - Education of children
  - Agriculture purpose
  - Business
  - For buying food items
  - Any other specify
15. Do you have any outstanding debt at present? Yes / No
16. If yes, what is the rate of interest you pay? . . . . . per cent

#### EDUCATION

1. Is there any school in your village? Yes / No
2. (a) Boys: Ages : Classes:
- (b) Girls: Ages : Classes:
3. Do you support female education? Yes / No
4. A cultivator has only one son and greatly needs his son's help in cultivation. But the son wishes to continue his studies. What should the father decide on this question?
- Expects him to help in cultivation
  - Allow his son to attend school
  - Both
5. If you expect your son to help you and also to pursue studies, which is important according to you
- Work for father
  - Continue in school

ARTS, CRAFTS AND DRESS

1. Do you know -

Basketry	Yes / No
Carpentry	Yes / No
Weaving	Yes / No
Traditional Painting	Yes / No
2. Do you make it for household purpose?  
Yes / No
3. Do you like to wear -

(a) Traditional dress:	Regularly / Sometimes / Never
(b) Western dress :	Regularly / Sometimes / Never
(c) Country made dress :	Lungi / dhoti / saree
4. What is the attitude of your parents towards your dress style?

(a)	Give freedom to my dress
(b)	Does not like my way of dressing
(c)	Prefer my wearing traditional dress
(d)	Prefer my wearing western style dress
5. Where do you get traditional dress material -

Home made
Made by others locally
Mill made cloth
6. Have you a weaving loom in your house?  
Yes / No
7. If yes, who weaves?

Your mother
Your sister
Your wife
Your daughter
Any other specify



LEISURE AND RECREATION

1. How do you spend your holidays?  
What are your leisure time activities?  
Visit a friend  
Visit a relative  
Outing  
Going to a Movie  
Working at home  
Any other specify
2. Do you have any recreational club in your locality / village? Yes / No
3. Do you go to movies? Yes / No
4. If yes, how often?  
Once a week / a Fortnight / a month  
Occasionally  
Rarely  
Never
5. What influence do you think the movies in general, have on people who see them?  
Good influence  
Neither good nor bad  
Bad influence

HABIT OF NEWSPAPER READING

1. Do you read any newspapers? Yes / No
2. If yes, how often and what parts of the newspaper do you usually read?

News item	Regularly	Occasionally	Never
All current news			
Advertisements			
Editorial			
Sports etc.			
=====			

3. Which parts of news interest you most?

World events  
National events  
Regional events  
Sports and Games  
Any other specify.

RADIO

1. Do you have a radio or Casseette player?

Yes / No

2. How often do you listen to the radio?

Always  
Occasionally  
Rarely  
Never

3. Which radio programme do you like best?  
Please specify.

4. After listening to the programme, do you  
hold any discussion -

Sometimes  
Regularly  
Never

MODERNITY AND SOCIAL INTERACTION

1. Do you read books? Yes / No

2. If yes, what type of books you read?

Novels  
Biographies of great men  
Adventurous stories

3. Do you invite your friends to your home?

Frequently  
Sometimes  
Not necessarily

4. Do you have the following:

- Bicycle
- Motor cycle
- Fans
- Sewing machine
- Television
- Telephone
- Fridge
- Any other specify

5. You have friendship with

Category	Very much	Not much	Not at all
Own community			
Other tribals			
Non-tribals			
Neo-settlers			

6. Do you take tea? Yes / No

7. (a) On some special occasions such as marriage and other ceremonies, do you invite other community people to your house?

(b) On similar occasions if they invite you do you accept it? Yes / No

(c) or would you like to celebrate with your own community? Yes / No

(d) Are you satisfied with your present way of life? Yes / No

(e) Do you think that Chittagong Hill Tracts Development Board is meant for your real development. Yes / No

8. Where did you <sup>live</sup> most of your life?

- Village
- Town
- City

9. Who are your neighbours in the present locality?  
     Chakmas  
     Jon tribals  
     Other tribals
10. Is there any settlement of refugees around your locality?                      Yes / No
11. Are they co-operative?                      Yes / No
12. Do you have good relationship with them?                      Yes / No
13. Do you think that their presence is a potential threat to employment of your tribals?  
     Yes / No / Can't say
14. Will their presence in your localities push the prices of goods?  
     Yes / No / Can't say

#### AGRICULTURE

1. If you have land how many crops you get from your land?  
     One crop a year  
     Two crops a year  
     Three crops a year
2. Who looks after your cultivation?  
     Your parents  
     Your family members  
     Your self  
     Your wife  
     Any other specify

3. Through whom do you cultivate your land?  
Your parents  
Your family members  
Your self  
Hired employees
4. What are the main crops in your land?  
Rice  
Wheat  
Pulses  
Raizo  
Groundnut  
Jute  
Tobacco  
Vegetables  
Chillies  
Others specify
5. Have you changed your ways of farming during the past five years? Yes / No
6. Do you use artificial fertilizers for your cultivation? Yes / No
7. Do you think that fertilizers saps the fertility of the soil? Yes / No
8. Do you take any advice / help from agriculture department for the improvement of your crops? Yes / No
9. Do you think that Japanies method of rice cultivation produces higher yield? Yes / No
10. What is your annual income from your agricultural lands?  
Rs. . . . . (approximately)
11. What are the periods of your sufficiency in food?  
..... month / ..... year.

12. Is your agriculture product sufficient for your whole year consumption?  
       More than sufficient  
       sufficient  
       Not sufficient
13. If the product is more than sufficient, do you sell the surplus?       Yes   /   No
14. If it is not sufficient for the year, how do you manage to meet your needs?  
       Borrow from relatives / local Bengalis  
       Buy from market  
       Ask help from others  
       Mortgage of articles  
       Take loan
15. What was your daily consumption of food in the last week?  
                                     Rice               Wheat  
       Once  
       Twice  
       Thrice  
       Four times
16. What is your mode of irrigation?  
       Rain water  
       River water  
       Deep tube well  
       Canal system  
       Pump set  
       Any other specify
17. How much of your land is under irrigation?  
                                     .. .. . acres
18. Do you practice shifting cultivation?  
                                     Yes   /   No

19. If not, did your father practice shifting cultivation? Yes / No
20. Before how many years you have given up the practice of shifting cultivation?
21. Do you get more production in your land than 10 years back? Yes / No

#### RELIGION

1. Do you attend your monastery? Yes / No
2. If yes, how often -  
Regularly / Sometimes / Rarely
3. Do you believe in God?  
Very much / Sometimes / Never
4. In your village home do you attend family worship  
Regularly  
Sometimes  
On special occasions  
Never
5. In your house, do you worship  
Regularly  
Sometimes  
On special occasions  
Never
6. What importance do you attach for your worship in your life?
7. Religion has considerable influence on your views in other spheres of life.  
Agree  
Disagree  
Don't know
8. Do you go to Hindu temples and on what occasions?

9. No religion in the world is as good as my own -  
       Agree  
       Disagree  
       Don't know
10. Do you believe in worshipping God or any supernatural powers for recovery from illness?  
       Yes / No
11. Where do you go for medical consultation?  
       Doctor  
       Traditional medicine man  
       Ojha  
       Homeopath

POLITICAL AWARENESS AND PARTICIPATION

1. Please give some names of the political parties in Bangladesh.  
       (a)           (b)           (c)           (d)
2. How many times you have voted during the last 15 years?
3. When you cast your vote you attach importance to  
       Party  
       The candidate's personal quality  
       Caste / Tribal identity
4. When you vote do you consult any one?  
       Yes / No
5. If yes, whom?  
       Village head man  
       Community head  
       Head of the household  
       Educated people
6. How often do you discuss politics with -  
       Family / Friends / Colleagues



7. In your village decisions are made by  
 Traditional Kachari  
 Village elders  
 Family heads  
 Educated persons
8. Do you support kingships                      Yes    /    No  
 If yes, why -  
 If no, why -
9. Change visible in your village is due to -  
 The village elders  
 Party leaders or youth  
 Government activities
10. Are you satisfied with the government policies  
 regarding :  
 Controlling of prices of essential  
 commodities  
 Unemployment relief  
 welfare of the tribal people
11. Do you think the present direction of develop-  
 ment in the Chittagong Hill Tracts will change  
 the lot of tribal people?                      Yes    /    No  
 If yes, why -  
 If no, why -
12. If more industries are set up in the district,  
 there will be better employment facilities,  
 for the tribal people.                      Yes    /    No  
 If yes, why -  
 If no, why -

- THANK YOU -

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